

# The African Communist

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## Unity Is The Key

PLENARY MEETING OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Yusuf M Dadoo  
chairman SACP



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## **THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST**

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Marxist-Leninist thought throughout  
our Continent, by the  
South African Communist Party*

**No.52      First Quarter 1973**

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## EDITORIAL NOTES



### A GUIDE TO ACTION

The discussions and decisions of the recent Plenary Meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee, contained in reports in this issue of *The African Communist*, are at once a call to action and a challenge to every oppressed, exploited and democratic South African. We believe that the guidelines contained in the analysis and conclusions of these documents will stand up to the searching test of practice; here is an arsenal of ammunition for our freedom-fighters.

The main political resolution, *Unity is the Key*, indicates the main lines of approach along which the rising tides of

resistance and militancy, so apparent in South Africa in every stratum of the population after the numbing blows dealt by the fascist government in the sixties, can be converged into a single revolutionary flood powerful enough to sweep aside the entrenchments of reaction and privilege, end white minority domination and liberate our country.

The statement needs to be studied, discussed and understood not only by all members and units of the Communist Party but also by broad revolutionary circles in South Africa within and outside the liberation movement.

Above all, if it is to fulfil its purpose, *Unity is the Key* must be backed up by resolute and determined *action*. Without such action, no statement however correct its arguments and conclusions can of itself transform the situation.

That is the challenge which these documents place before their readers.

### OUR PARTY CHAIRMAN

Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, recently elected Chairman of the South African Communist Party, needs no introduction to South African readers. Along with those of Nelson Mandels, Chief Lutuli, Walter Sisulu, Moses Kotane, J. B. Marks and others his name was oft repeated in many stirring freedom-songs emanating from the masses of the African people, and sung as they went into action by the Defiance Volunteers, the protest-strikers and the innumerable political prisoners who have crowded South Africa's jails for decades.

Born in Krugersdorp, Transvaal on 5 September 1909, Yusuf Mahomed Dadoo flung himself into political activity immediately after his return in 1936 after graduating in medicine in Scotland. Together with Maulvi Cachalia, 'Naran' Naidoo, Rev. Sigamoney, Nana Sita and others he founded the crusading nationalist bloc, challenging the entrenched right-wing leadership of the Transvaal Indian Congress. At the same time (for his interests were never confined to the affairs of the Indian community alone, he joined J. B. Marks, Josie



Mpama, George Carr, S. Joshi, Alpheus Maliba and others in forming the Non-European United Front.

It was on behalf of the latter organisation that he underwent in 1941 the first of many prison sentences in Boksburg jail — the trial and sentence sparking off the 'Support Dadoo and Defend Freedom' campaign: predecessor of many mass protests in the next two decades.

In the Communist Party his outstanding gifts won rapid recognition; a year after joining he was elected to the Johannesburg District Committee, and the following year to the Central Committee.

He was elected President of the Transvaal Indian Congress in 1945, despite bitter conservative opposition. In 1946, with Dr. Naicker, president of the Natal Indian Congress, he led the passive resistance campaign and was accordingly jailed again — being brought from prison to face trial in 1946 in connection with the great African miners' strike of that year. He was elected president of the South African Indian Congress in 1948 and was one of the signatories of the famous Dadoo-Xuma-Naicker Pact which laid the basis for the emergence in the fifties of the Congress Alliance.

The Congress of the People in 1955 presented him — together with Chief Lutuli and Father Huddleston — with the traditional honour of being named 'Isitwalandwe.' He was banned from gatherings at the time, his mother received the order on his behalf.

Dr. Dadoo was sent to attend the United Nations session in Paris in 1948, but the South African government confiscated his passport and the French government of the day would not admit him. Instead he travelled to the socialist countries, taking part in the Bulgarian and Polish Party Congresses.

Sent abroad on the instructions of the liberation movement in 1961 he has become a familiar figure at international conferences, pleading the cause of the oppressed people of South Africa and of world peace (he has served on the

Presidential Council of the World Peace Council.)

Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Council appointed by the African National Congress, Dr. Dadoo has represented the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party with distinction at numerous international conferences and Party Congresses.

His election as Party Chairman will be greeted with approval not only by his Party comrades inside and outside South Africa, but also by the broad masses of oppressed black South Africans and their sympathisers throughout the world.

### **VORSTER LOSES AN ALLY . . .**

For many years the successive reactionary governments of Australia have been among the most active apologists and defenders — at the United Nations and elsewhere — of apartheid.

It is gratifying to be able to record that one of the first acts of the new Labour government headed by Gough Whitlam, was to repudiate that policy and announce that Australia would henceforth join Afro-Asian and socialist countries in condemning apartheid and the Smith regime.

However bearing in mind the serious disappointments suffered by those who hoped great things from the Wilson Labour government in Britain, we cannot but be aware of the enormous pressures that will now be mounted against this new policy by the pro-South African lobby in Australia, London, Washington and elsewhere.

Knowing the tendency of Labour governments to succumb to such pressures we hope that militant working classes, progressive and anti-apartheid forces in Australia will remain active, vigilant and ever-ready to exert counter-pressures.

### **... AND FINDS A RELENTLESS OPPONENT!**

At the time of writing (early December 1972) it seems highly likely that both the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany will enter the United Nations early in the coming year.

It is not the purpose of this Note to consider the overall international implications of this notable step forward — a theme which is included in the statement on international policy from the S.A.C.P. Central Committee, reproduced in this issue.

What we cannot, however, refrain from mentioning here is the striking fact that in the G.D.R. the racist Vorster regime will be encountering within the United Nations a most formidable addition to the already strongly internationalist group of Socialist countries.

The German workers of the Democratic Republic have already given the world an earnest that they have fully absorbed the bitter lessons of herrenvolkism. They have rooted it out at home and ready to play their part in eliminating it from the international community.

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### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF CONDOLENCES**

The Central Committee of the South African Communist Party gratefully acknowledges messages of condolence and tributes to the late J.B. Marks, received since the last issue of *The African Communist* went to press, from the Communist Party of Venezuela, the Jordanian Communist Party, the Socialist Youth Club of Ghana and numerous individuals in different parts of the world.



## COMMUNIQUE

### *Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, South African Communist Party.*

The Central Committee of the South African Communist Party recently concluded its plenary session which was conducted in a spirit of complete unanimity and comradeship.

Noting the heavy blow sustained by the Party and the entire liberation movement by the death on 1 August of Comrade J.B. Marks, our late Chairman, the Central Committee expressed its determination to strive ceaselessly for the fulfilment of his life's work.

The meeting elected Comrade Yusuf M. Dadoo as Chairman of the South African Communist Party. An assistant General Secretary was elected.

Deep-ranging discussions were held on the developments in South Africa since the plenary meeting of 1970. Strong emphasis was placed on the priority need for strengthening the Party's underground structure and activities and on working for the maximum unity and effectiveness of the revolutionary national liberation movement.

A report on the international situation was discussed and the general line of policy followed by the Executive was approved. The C.C. determined to continue the Party's efforts to unite the anti-imperialist forces — the socialist countries, the working class movement and the national liberation movements — for peace, national freedom and the advance of socialism.

Statements incorporating the discussions and decisions on both internal and international affairs were adopted. (The text follows, Ed.)

The concluding session of the meeting was attended by the General Secretary, Comrade Moses M. Kotane, whom all members joined in wishing a speedy return to health and activity.

# UNITY IS THE KEY

## *Statement of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party*

Important developments have taken place in South Africa since the enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party reviewed the situation in 1970. The permanent state of crisis of the system has been aggravated, arising both from the general crisis of world imperialism and of the special contradictions and stresses inherent in the white supremacy apartheid structure. The aggravation of the situation is reflected not only by growing indications of conflict between various elements of the ruling classes over problems of how best to retain the racist-colonialist structure, but, more significantly, by expressions of renewed militancy and upsurge among all sections of the oppressed and exploited masses. There are encouraging signs that the despondency and immobility which resulted from the heightened repressive measures in the post-1960 period, are beginning to recede.

The most revolutionary organisations of the oppressed people – the liberation alliance headed by the African National Congress and embracing the S.A.C.P. – have long recognised that the problems of the country can only be resolved by the revolutionary, forcible overthrow of white supremacy and the taking over of power by the people. But they have never had a 'putschist' approach to our revolution; we recog-

nise that the South African revolution must be seen as a *process* accompanied by an ever-rising combination of forms of resistance, action and organisation, violent and non-violent, illegal and legal, spontaneous and planned.

The task of the vanguard is to welcome, encourage and support all positive manifestations of the rising consciousness of the oppressed people; to participate in them and to strive ever to build among them the spirit of unity, of active and militant struggle, of revolutionary purpose.

### **THE PEOPLE ON THE MARCH**

The white regime in South Africa has always maintained its grip by techniques ranging from administrative and political dictatorship, to open terror. In the post-war period the Nationalist Government threw to the winds all remnants of a democratic pretence. To meet the mass challenge the racists went all out to destroy the people's organisations with the main attack directed to the A.N.C., the other organisations in the Congress Alliance, the S.A.C.P. and the newly-created military organ of the movement, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

It is a matter of historical record that the enemy succeeded in inflicting wounding blows on the whole movement. The people's organisations were hounded into complete illegality, leadership centres were destroyed and the attempts to regroup within the country were hindered by the absolute nature of the terror and the lack of adequate preparation to meet it. The thoroughness and brutality of the repression stunned the people who were largely deprived of the effective guidance, direction and leadership of the organisations behind which they had rallied so magnificently in the mass upsurge of the late '50s and early '60's.

But the attacks which were designed once and for all to destroy the people's organisations and their resolve to put an end to white domination, did not end in a permanent rout as the enemy had hoped. Once again there is evidence of significant stirrings amongst the mass of the oppressed in our land.

Despite the barrier of repressive legislation which has il-



legalised strikes and denied the African workers the right to form trade unions, more and more workers are taking matters into their own hands. The strike movement is growing in spite of punitive actions by the State and the employers. The workers are becoming more confident of their strength and more experienced in struggle; organising under the very noses of the repressive forces and maintaining their unity and solidarity in open struggle.

The militant actions of the Durban and Cape Town dockers and the PUTCO bus drivers are but some of the nationally publicised instances of militant working class action. Many other unreported actions have taken place at various places of work throughout the country.

The magnificent three-month strike of the Namibian workers which spread to every sector of the Namibian economy and involved tens of thousands of workers, created a crisis of international and national proportions for the Vorster regime. It was triggered off by the iniquitous contract labour system. As it developed, more general demands were included which went to the root of the whole system of white domination — the rate for the job, freedom to change jobs, freedom to enjoy family life, abolition of the pass books, and so on. Despite the detention of 200 leaders, the killing of strikers by armed police and the military, a clamp down on all news and the introduction of a measure similar to the infamous Proclamation 400 of the Transkei, the Government was unable to break the resolve and unity of the workers. In the end it was forced to negotiate and to suspend and alter the labour contract system, though the new arrangements do not go to the root of the evil. The basic iniquities of South African imperialist domination in Namibia remain and the people are poised for a further round of struggle. The Namibian strike was one of the most inspiring examples of how the labour of the oppressed (even in the absence of extensive organisation) can be forged into a most potent instrument of mass struggle. This lesson is not lost on the Black workers everywhere in our land.

In the countryside the Government's policy for the arbi-

trary removal of entire population groups is deepening the anger and resentment of the people. In some areas resistance has forced the Government to abandon 'rehabilitation schemes' and those that take place have to be carried out at the point of a gun. In the Bantustans groups and individuals from amongst the oppressed majority are beginning to act and speak out publicly with a sharpness which seemed impossible only a few years ago. Even some of the Government-appointed Bantustan Chief Executives find themselves compelled to raise demands which come from the people themselves and which reflect a changing mood and a growing impatience.

The recent student actions not only bore testimony to the spirit of resistance among the youth despite the ever-present threat of violent oppression by the Vorster Government, but were also a simultaneous, nation-wide expression of a struggle that the student group had been waging with increasing intensity in the schools and colleges throughout the country. Already, in at least the two cases of the Lebowa and Transkei Bantustans, commissions of inquiry into 'student unrest' have had to be appointed.

### **THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT WIDENS**

In an effort to overcome the disabilities imposed upon them by the banning and persecution of their political and labour organisations, the patriotic forces of our country have founded a number of organisations which objectively form part of the broad democratic front. More and more sections of the oppressed people are entering the struggle as a conscious force, and they are using many opportunities to present united demands for the improvement of the conditions of the people and the advancement of the struggle.

The Coloured Labour Party has continued to be more than just an electoral machine for the dummy Coloured Representative Council. It won its majority on a platform of positive rejection of apartheid and in particular of second class representation. It has steadfastly refused to be tempted by proposals (such as a limited representation in the white Par-



liament) for hiving off the Coloured people from their African brothers. The sense of a common fate with the oppressed as a whole is deepening amongst the Coloured people the mood which regards Black freedom as indivisible is growing. The militant youth wing of the Labour Party has recently decided to drop its 'Coloured' tag and open Party membership to all races. It adopted a manifesto at its present conference which contained complete acceptance of the concept of Black Awareness and the need to co-ordinate closely with other Black groups in political and community programmes. The Coloured riots of last year and the bus boycott in Port Elizabeth are further signs of an increased readiness to combine and act against authority.

The same tendencies are showing themselves amongst the Indian community. The recent period has seen the re-emergence of the Natal Indian Congress as a public campaigning body. Despite the bannings and other forms of persecution, the mass organisations of the Indian people are no longer dormant. They are responding not only on questions related directly to the Indian community but have reaffirmed the militant policies of the Dadoo-Naicker leadership of unity in action amongst all the oppressed people. Students at Indian educational institutions were in the front ranks of those who demonstrated solidarity with the African students during the recent unrest. The Indian Congress is considering launching a national youth league open to people of all races.

Although there is no certainty as to the direction it will take, the recent move to launch a Black People's Convention is yet another sign of a growing awareness of the need for nation-wide organisation amongst the oppressed.

African teachers have united to demand the scrapping of Bantu Education and the introduction of free and compulsory education for African youth; women's organisations are helping to spearhead the demand for the abandonment of and resistance to the policy of mass removals. Significant sections of the intellectual and business strata are devoting efforts to the educational and cultural advancement of the African people. Within the church a struggle is being waged to



enable it to play its part in advancing the struggle for the liberation of the Black people. The campaign for the removal of discrimination in sport is drawing in greater numbers of sportsmen. The great victory of the African doctors of Johannesburg in winning their demands for equal pay comes as culmination of persistent united action on their part.

Thus, at all levels and amongst all strata, there is a nationwide sharpening of the confrontation between the oppressed and the oppressor, an urge of unity in action and an ever-increasing search for yet more effective measures and organisational forms to advance the liberation struggle.

\* \* \*

This upswing in militancy and organisation in many important spheres is no accident.

The rekindling of the spark of a will to resist is in no small measure connected with the 'no surrender' policy and actions of the whole liberation movement and especially the A.N.C. and our Party. Despite the enemy's vicious onslaught and the enormous problems created by the need to pursue the struggle in the new situation created by the terror, the people have been inspired and have gained new courage by the public re-appearance on a national scale of the illegal organisations which have continued to carry out consistent organisational, educational and propaganda activities under the very noses of the police. The people warmed to the battles between cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe and South African and Smith forces during the late '60s — the first organised armed engagements in the modern period by a people's force which, even on the enemy's admission, showed a skill and heroism of the first order. Whatever their limitations, these actions and the internal illegal activities have helped to inject a mood of resistance and have demonstrated that organised opposition can persist and find new expression even under the most difficult conditions.

But no amount of agitation and propaganda could have roused the masses of the people out of the despondency of a few years ago if they themselves had not realised through

their own experience that their conditions are becoming more and more intolerable and that they must take action to change them.

This realisation has grown inevitably out of the intensification of the apartheid system of systematic repression, extreme national oppression, super-exploitation and planned impoverishment of the Black people.

## **THE ECONOMY IN TROUBLE – THE PEOPLE SUFFER**

In all spheres of life the oppressed masses of our country have been cast into even lower depths of deprivation, want and suffering. The country's economy has slipped into a recession which is particularly affecting certain important branches of industry such as building and construction and durable consumer goods. The Government has worsened the situation by imposing deflationary measures aimed largely at correcting an adverse balance of payments.

While to some extent the South African recession is part of the recession afflicting all imperialist countries, its causes remain largely home-based. It is a direct consequence of the continuation and intensification of the policy of apartheid.

Its single most important cause is the retrogressive labour policy of job reservation and the colour bar. While this policy has served its purpose of attaching the white working class to the white alliance, it is now acting as a limiting factor even to the capitalists themselves who are interested in expanding production. There is an acute shortage of skilled labour which the policy of attempting to import white immigrants has failed to overcome. The limited nature of the internal market, caused by the planned impoverishment of the majority of the people, is another aggravating factor.

The persistent deficit of the balance of payments is itself a result of the apartheid system which, amongst other things, has imposed a heavy bill of military expenditure on the country. South Africa's armed forces have been more than doubled in the years between 1971 and 1972. According to the Institute of Strategic Studies, South Africa's armed



forces increased from 44,250 in 1970-71 to 109,300 in 1972-73. Opposition to her policies has excluded South Africa from establishing stable, equal and mutually-beneficial trade relations particularly with the countries of independent Africa.

While the monied classes of South Africa are worried by record levels of bankruptcy, sharp falls in share prices and under-utilisation of productive capacity, the deepening crisis of the apartheid economy is a matter literally of life and death to the masses of the people. There are now one and a quarter million unemployed Africans in the country. This is a rate of unemployment of about 18 per cent of the employable African population. In the absence of unemployment benefit and overall social security for the African people, this level of unemployment signifies absolute destitution of a sharpness, permanence and scale which the bare figures cannot really convey. It is calculated that African unemployment will reach 4 million by 1980.

Simultaneously, a persistently high rate of inflation continually reduces the purchasing power of the wages particularly of the Black workers through increases in the price of essentials such as food, rents, fares and so on. This occurs in a situation in which Black labour is contributing more and more to South Africa's wealth. For example, Francis Wilson in his book, *Labour in the South African Gold Mines 1911-1969*, established that in real terms Black cash earnings in 1969 were no higher and possibly even lower than they had been in 1911. White miners, on the other hand, have increased their real cash earnings by 70 per cent over the same period, mainly as a result of their bargaining strength.

It has recently been announced that the one of the major mining groups has increased the wages of 50,000 of its African miners by 30 per cent. As grandiose as this rise may sound, in actual earnings it means that the income of the African mine worker is still a miserable pittance. His average wage will go up from just over £9 per month to just over £12 per month, compared to the white miner's average earnings of £200 per month. In 1967 the rise which the



white miner got was more than the total average earnings of the Black miner.

Acting directly in the interest of the monopolies, the Vorster regime has also further worsened the conditions of the people by devaluing the Rand twice within one year, aiming at further re-distributing the national income away from the ordinary working people towards the owners of productive property, the white capitalist class. Simultaneously the local monopolists have had their internal high prices protected from foreign competition by a high wall of import restrictions.

The weight of the total onslaught on the people's living standards through the continuation and extension of apartheid, has resulted in a further reduction of the Black people's share of the national income, with the wage gap widening rather than narrowing. 80% of the urban African population lives below the minimum poverty datum line, while agriculture can only feed one third of the Bantustan African population. At R432 a year, the national average household income for Africans constitute only 9% of the annual white average income of R4,800.

## **BANTUSTANS AND RESETTLEMENT**

Hidden behind the fraudulent constitutional arrangements of the Bantustan programme is the reality of masses of people with no land, no jobs, no food. The apartheid system, even in its Bantustan guise, continues to maintain the reserves as labour reservoirs and dumping grounds for the unemployed. The thousands that are being uprooted, endorsed out of the towns and removed from the white farms have meant a sharp aggravation in the conditions of the rural masses whose destination the colonisation of our country has made endemic.

In the recent period the most pernicious tightening of the screw has been the forceful application of the principle of migrant labour regardless of how long Africans have lived in the urban areas, with the massive uprooting of populations this has entailed. The resettlement camps form one part of

this programme. In the last few years, the Government has removed close to half a million Africans from 'white' areas and so-called 'black spots' and dumped them in the veld in areas marked out for 'resettlement'. The wretched conditions in these camps has been exposed in the press. But the forcible adherence to the imigrant labour policy and the expulsion of 'surplus' African populations to the 'homelands' goes even further than this. The Government has taken powers to improvise a new system of dealing with pass offenders. They are to be shuffled off to 'aid centres' run by the Department of Bantu Administration where Bantu Affairs Commissioners will then decide if (1) jobs can be found for them, (2) they should go to jail as pass offenders, or (3) they should be repatriated to their 'homelands'. Aid centres may reduce the numbers of short-term prisoners but instead of going to prison — or being given the option of paying a fine — Africans will be forcibly sent to the rural areas where there is no employment, or as cheap labourers to areas where there is a shortage of labour, particularly on white-owned farms.

The resettlement camps and the rural locations have become the bane of the rural African masses and the African nation as a whole. Further subdivisions of plots in the Bantustans are increasing the hardships of the people. The policy of the removal of labour tenants from white farms is depriving the people of tenure and stock while the policy of creating a pure agricultural working class whether resident on the white farms or in the rural locations and the resettlement camps, objectively favours the taking over of more land by the more powerful sections of the white capitalist class. Transformed into a proletariat, with nothing to live by except the sale of their labour power, the African agricultural workers throughout the country, the Indian sugar cane workers, the Coloured agricultural workers in the Western Cape, are all subject to especially severe super-exploitation. Whilst their productive labour feeds white South Africa and large numbers of other people throughout the world, the South African agricultural workers themselves live in increasing misery and starvation.



The earnings of the Black middle stratum have also deteriorated, and the continuation of apartheid has further limited the possibilities of advancement in terms of both position and income. There has been a mass exodus into industry and elsewhere by many amongst the teaching profession. The intelligentsia as a whole finds itself barred from effectively contributing to the genuine cultural advancement of the people. Government-sponsored businessmen find themselves overburdened with debts and becoming no more than employees of the State and white businessmen. The civil servants in the Bantustans find their position worsened with the exception of a very thin upper layer. Many of them are becoming demoralised by the realisation that they are often forced to act as instruments for perpetuating the subjugation of their own people.

In general, the people live in grinding poverty and under a lengthening shadow of police rule and brutality. They find their best sons and daughters, the most selfless patriots of our country, murdered at will by the security police. Everywhere force and greater force is the order of the day against the striking students and the PUTCO bus drivers, against the students in Cape Town and the striking workers in Namibia, and against all expressions of mass opposition.

## **NEW SOLUTIONS**

The search for new 'solutions' within the suffocating framework of capitalist exploitation and racial supremacy is an indication of the mounting difficulties and contradictions facing the ruling class. Those 'solutions', designed to find more effective methods for the continuation of race rule, cannot succeed.

Faced with a continuing shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour, significant sections of the owning classes whose profits suffer because the potential growth of the home market is frustrated by job reservation and the limited buying power of the majority of the people find themselves in conflict with some of the policies of the Vorster regime.



They, of course, stand four-square behind white supremacy but are, at the same time, affected by some of the restrictive measures designed primarily for the protection of the privileged white workers. Their 'solutions' for easing aspects of the colour bar in industry, are motivated by the desire more effectively to stave off radical moves for change in the whole economic structure and to introduce only such reforms which will ensure the continuation of the high profits system.

The white-dominated Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) is scrambling to be in at the foundation of a mass African trade union movement which it is campaigning for. Its purpose is to capture it and bend it to its class collaborationist and reformist class. Already TUCSA has more Coloured and Indian workers than whites in its ranks with the Black workers constituting 54 per cent of the membership. It no doubt reckons that after it has pulled in the African workers it will, with the aid of the Vorster regime, continue to monopolise the leadership in the hands of the white labour aristocracy. Its new-found championing of the Black workers is suspect. If there was any doubt as to what is behind this new 'liberal' approach of some white trade unionists, it becomes crudely obvious by the recent statement of Mr. Arthur Grobbelaar, the General Secretary of TUCSA, who said that if the employers and TUCSA did not help organise African unions it would lead to 'dangerous frustration' (which) will build up and inevitably lead to a rejection of the privileged white group's policies and 'ultimately lead to violence for changing the present situation'.

In its turn, the Government as one of its priority 'solutions' is pressing ahead with increasing vigour to set up so-called Bantu 'Homelands'. On the international front its purpose is to break down South Africa's isolation by projecting the Bantustans as real enclaves of African independence and to use the client administrations which are being set up to prepare the ground for further imperialist incursions into the rest of Africa. On the internal front the policy is aimed at reversing the process which began in earnest with the formation of the A.N.C. in 1912 of cementing the African people

into one nation with an indisputable right to determine the destiny of our land.

By projecting the constitutional mechanisms of Bantustan, the policy is directed to undermine support for a revolutionary change. In this way the Government hopes to isolate the national movement from its base of support amongst the people.

Ethnic development within the framework of white domination may create the illusion of a recognition of some of the undoubted cultural rights of the different groups, but its main purpose is to break up the unity of the African people and to perpetuate their inferior status. The talk of so-called cultural autonomy is designed to emphasize the separate rather than the common heritage and aspirations of the African people; to deprive the people of the sort of education which will qualify them to integrate into the modern sector, and to rebuild the walls of separation between the different groups which made them easier targets for white conquest and control.

In each 'homeland' a bureaucracy of politicians, office holders, administrators and officials of various sorts is being created with the purpose of giving a small sector of the traditional rulers and groups from amongst the intelligentsia a special place in separation politics at the administrative level which would help the white State to govern them more easily through Black officials.

The Government also encourages the growth of a business and middle class in the 'homelands' who, by the very nature of things, will be wholly dependent for their economic survival and expansion on the State or the white bourgeoisie.

It is also hoped to create ethnic style divisions amongst the African working people, to move the fulcrum of political activity away from the towns and into the separate 'homelands', and thus to emasculate the united working class as a political force in the areas most vital to the enemy — its industrial complexes. The spearhead of resistance to white domination in the modern period has understandably been in the urban complexes. The African proletariat has shown a



political consciousness and has had a history of militant struggle which places it in the vanguard of our democratic revolution. In the urban areas objective conditions have helped to break down tribal barriers. An African national consciousness grew up and formed strong links with the oppressed Black minorities — the Coloured and Indian people.

Despite over 20 years of 'Bantu homelands' development, the majority of the African people — over 8 million — live and work in the so-called 'white' areas. The heightened tempo of repatriation to the 'homelands' in the last few years is making little significant impact on the population distribution as between Blacks and whites in the towns. Today there are still more Africans in the urban areas than whites. This position is likely to remain materially unchanged in the future.

The purpose of the Bantustan 'solution' is clear. Together with the Pass Laws, it is intended to give every African the status of a migratory worker in order to deal in a new way with the undeniable and growing dependence of white mining, industry and farming on Black skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour. According to a recent study, 6 million Africans are already in the grip of migratory labour (*Migratory Labour: The Canker in South African Society* by John Kane-Berman).

## THE ONLY REAL SOLUTION — POWER TO THE PEOPLE

All these 'solutions' whether by representatives of white labour, elements amongst the big bourgeoisie, the Vorster regime or his white Parliamentary opponents, point basically in one direction — a search for new methods to continue white domination. The only real and lasting solution lies in the revolutionary taking over of power by the people — the most militant constituent of which is the most oppressed section, the African majority.

Our analysis has shown that greater possibilities are opening up of raising mass struggle to new heights because of the ever-widening gap between the white minority and the mass



of the oppressed and the intensification of internal contradictions at all levels. This is accompanied by a growing awareness by more and more amongst the Black majority of the need for nation-wide mobilisation to end white domination in all spheres of life. The speed with which these stirrings will be transformed into a real revolutionary upsurge depends on a number of factors. How can the leadership of our whole liberation movement channel the streams of growing protest into one mighty river of revolution? It needs growing unity in thought and action which in the first place has its roots in a common understanding of the processes which are taking place.

### United thought leads to united action

Ideological clarity is of capital importance not only within our own movement but at all levels of the new and reconstructed mass organisations which objectively form part of the broad democratic front.

The current ferment is accompanied by a public debate and discussion on what has become known as the Black Consciousness movement. What is the position of our Party on this question?

The S.A.C.P. is a pioneer of the idea that the main content of our struggle is the liberation of the African people and with them the other oppressed nationalities. As early as the twenties communists were the first to give expression to it by the adoption of the slogan of 'Independent Black Republic'. Our Programme adopted by the underground conference in 1962 confirmed that

the main content of this (national democratic) revolution is the national liberation of the African people. Its fulfillment is, at the same time, in the deepest interests of the other non-white groups for in achieving their liberty the African people will at the same time put an end to all forms of racial discrimination.

We have always recognised that one of the prime mainsprings for the maximum mobilisation of the African people remains (as stated in the A.N.C.'s *Strategy and Tactics*) a deepening

of their national confidence, national pride and national assertiveness. Although it still lacks clear and consistent expression the concept of Black Consciousness and the psychological liberation of the African people has its roots in, and is part of, the battle for the unity of the oppressed masses and their leadership of the whole national democratic alliance. We therefore see the current, public spread of the ideas of Black Consciousness as reflecting basically a positive aspect of one of the realities of our struggle.

Our Marxist-Leninist Party, itself largely an African Party in its composition and leadership, remains first and foremost a Party of the working class whose aim is socialism and whose ideological standpoint is rooted in internationalism. We stand for the unity of the working people across all national boundaries against the whole capitalist class and its ideology, regardless of its national origin. We, however, see no conflict between this standpoint and our support for the revolutionary-democratic features of a nationalism which cements the unity of the African and other oppressed Black people and which heightens the struggle of the Black masses relying on their own initiative and strength.

'Black nationalism' is an inevitable and healthy response of the oppressed people against the arrogant white chauvinism, embracing Afrikaner nationalism, British jingoism and the crude racialism which has been absorbed by a white aristocracy of labour, which has made common cause with the racist bourgeoisie in the dispossession and super-exploitation of the Black working people.

At the same time, patriots must be on their guard lest this somewhat unclearly-defined slogan and concept of Black Consciousness be used as an instrument merely to secure the material advancement of the Black intelligentsia and middle strata at the expense of the working people. It is a reformist illusion that, within the existing social and economic framework of apartheid, islands of 'Black Power' can be built from which effective onslaughts can be mounted against the structure itself. It is important to defeat the indoctrination of African servility, deliberately inoculated by the oppressors,



and to vindicate the finest elements in the traditions and history of the Black people. But merely contemplative theories, confined to comforting assertions about the uniqueness and superiority of African culture and traditions, will never in themselves serve to mobilise the people in action for freedom.

Mindful, no doubt, of many past experiences in which white 'liberal' elements have tried to dominate Black protests or misdirect them into harmless channels, it is natural and correct that the modern Black protest movement, especially amongst the students, has strongly asserted its independence. At the same time, tendencies to impose on the liberation movement a crude, overall 'principle' of 'anti-whiteism' must be vigorously opposed as harmful to our people, our cause and our victory. We must work to isolate the most viciously racist section of the oppressors; to win over or at least to neutralise anti-fascist sections of the white population.

In the conduct of the struggle we must distinguish between those forms of subordination to sections of the oppressor nation which would strangle national identity, and essential steps for the maximum unity of all revolutionary forces.

In order to become a more positive and dynamic force in uniting the various strata of the oppressed people, the concept of Black Consciousness needs the reinforcement of the scientific and enlightening ideology of the working class: Marxism-Leninism, and to be integrated within the hard-won common programme of the liberation alliance: The Freedom Charter.

For ideology to become a real force for revolutionary change it must provide concrete guidelines to the different strata of our people on the implementation of the basic tasks which emerge from the present situation. What are these guidelines?

## **IN THE FACTORIES**

The leading class, the proletariat, must resist all attempts to set up yellow or government unions and must use its collec-

tive strength to gain better conditions and to play its leading role as the most important constituent in the struggle for national liberation. This it must do through mass action and direct confrontation, through a rising class consciousness, through the organisation of African workers, with or without the permission of the Vorster regime, through the extension of mass struggle beyond the limits of each individual firm or work place, to action on an industrial and national level.

Now, more than ever, it has become vital to reconstruct and strengthen the most progressive, experienced and genuinely working class trade union centre: The Congress of Trade Unions – SACTU – uniting organisations of African, Coloured and Indian workers. Those Coloured and Indian workers who are organised in TUCSA must fight uncompromisingly against its policy of white patronage and minority domination and against the exclusion of African workers from skilled work and trade union rights.

The fact that some employers in industry, commerce and even the mines have recently been compelled to concede increases in wage levels, shows that the time is ripe for the African workers to achieve a genuine break-through by enforcing the demand for a standard of living in keeping with that of other developed countries.

The foundation for these tasks must be laid, as never before, in effective factory organisation in every part of the country. Now initiatives are needed by advanced elements in every workplace. We must begin building up a network of factory committees in a way which will defeat the enemy's secret police apparatus. Such clandestine groups functioning in accordance with all the rules of conspiracy must become shock brigades organising and leading their fellow workers in the struggle for higher wages and better conditions, co-ordinating their work with other factory committees and, if need be, defending their rights to exist and to organise by industrial action. On the white farms too, where millions of Black workers labour under conditions of extreme exploitation, the key to advance is organisation. In general the labour of the Black workers without which the economy would



crumble remains one of the most potent weapons in the hands of the people.

## **ON THE LAND**

In the countryside the landless, impoverished Black mass must translate its absolute rejection of white land monopoly over the major part of our country by becoming more and more involved in united action. The enemy must begin to find it more and more difficult to implement its resettlement policies. Organised mass resistance must prevent it from shifting whole populations like cattle. In the resettlement camps themselves organised community bodies must be created to demand food, better conditions and land and to prevent the authorities from dealing with the people as if they were inmates of a Nazi concentration camp.

In the Bantustans the people by their actions must show the white State that it cannot rest secure with Government-appointed officials and dependent and puppet administrations. The very administrations themselves must, where they can, be exploited to expose the ultimate fraud behind the Bantustan plan. Those elements who will use their positions to accelerate confrontations on such major questions as land, real legislative and executive powers, proper mass representation, the arming of the people, must be strengthened. Those aspects of the policies of the Bantustan Leaders which (whether intended or not) play into the hands of the Government must be criticised and attacked. The lie must be given to the Government's propaganda that those selected by it to run the 'homelands' are the sole legitimate representatives of the Africans. The liberation alliance headed by the A.N.C. is the voice of the oppressed and its leaders, whether underground, in jail or in political exile, are the true spokesmen of the Black people.

Majority rule over the whole of South Africa must remain in the forefront of popular demand in the 'homelands'. By deed and by word the people everywhere must in every possible way continue to reject the Government's territorial

'solution' as completely unacceptable. We must continue to assert the historic right of the African people to the whole of South Africa and expose the true purpose behind the Government's plan which is domination by separation. Above all, the issues confronting the people in the Bantustans must not be fought out only at the top — the Government's chosen ground. What is at the moment mainly a verbal confrontation between the Government and some of the more outspoken Bantustan leaders must be transformed into a real one between the people and the Government. The worst compromisers must be met by popular opposition. Solidarity actions with the oppressed in every part of the country should be the order of the day. Demands for more land, which has become one of the burning issues, must, when appropriate, be accompanied by acts of occupation. Attempted removals must be met by acts of resistance.

## THE YOUTH

The working youth and students, both in town and countryside, have a special contribution to make. It is from them that the new public impetus has come which has placed more prominently on the agenda the whole question of the national assertiveness by Black people and an unqualified rejection of ethnic separation. At schools and universities, on the farms, in the factories and in the Bantustans, the youth must raise to even greater heights their restless urge for complete liberation. The recent national confrontation between the Government and the Black youth (African, Indian and Coloured) supported by solidarity actions by some white students, is a pointer to the future. Improved nation-wide organisation and more actions by the youth in alliance with the workers, the peasants and other sections of the oppressed people will bring nearer the day when the national democratic revolution will triumph. Even within the restrictive atmosphere of the separated ethnic places of study, the student youth has a unique opportunity of equipping themselves and their fellow students with the liberating ideology



of Marxism-Leninism through secret discussion and study circles and also playing an important part in helping to elaborate and to spread the policies and programme of the whole national democratic front.

The Black middle strata — small traders, various professional men and women, teachers, and others — have also a vital role to play. Their future is inseparably linked with that of the people as a whole. This group, like the students, have special opportunities to contribute intellectually and materially to the revolutionary cause. Individually and through their professional associations they must intensify the right for Black advancement and against discrimination — not only for their own sake but also for all their people.

### **CEMENTING THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT**

The new and reconstructed public organisations which have emerged can play a vital role not only in organising those whom they represent but also co-ordinating their unity in action. As in the past the patriotic forces must take full advantage of every legal opportunity to heighten the consciousness of the people and to sharpen their will to resist. Their activity must be conducted with a skill which will make it more difficult for the regime to deprive them of important legal platforms. But, by the very nature of things, the limitations placed upon their activities by repressive legislation and the security apparatus call for a combination of legal with underground illegal activity.

It is only the underground voice that can speak without inhibition and freely relate the mass struggle to the long-term needs of our revolution. What does this mean in practice? It means in the first place the strengthening of the underground leadership and units of our fighting front headed by the A.N.C. within the country with stronger links with the people and their mass movement. It means also that the advanced elements amongst all strata of our people must be encouraged to take their own initiatives to create illegal units at every level of life — whether in the factories, on the

land, in the Bantustans, at the schools and universities, or in the resettlement areas.

Such units, guided by the policies of the vanguard revolutionary organisations, will plan and generate day-to-day organisation, resistance and struggle wherever they are. They should not wait until they have made formal contact with the existing apparatus of our revolutionary front.

As the struggle reaches new levels ways will be found of integrating such units into the organised machinery of our movement as a whole. Advanced elements must not wait for a lead from elsewhere.

The white minority will not surrender its control of the State without a violent struggle. The preparation for is essential for victory.

Whatever chances remain or arise for legal mass work education or organisation, must be used to the full. But it would be illusory to believe that on its own the organisation of wide-scale open and lawful activity will lead to freedom. Such activity cannot therefore be regarded as an end in itself. The experience of the mass struggles of the late fifties and early sixties have taught that the enemy will respond viciously to any basic threat to the white State and go all out to destroy the people's organisations.

If the main emphasis of the struggle is on legal activity the masses, unable to defend themselves when the enemy acts, will inevitably once again be gripped by immobility and despondency. There is therefore the need to combine legal with illegal organisation so that each blow leads to a new counter blow by the people.

But more than this, there is the continuous need to prepare conditions in which armed struggle can be started and carried on. We have never regarded this process as one which is only the business of professional and armed cadres nor do we believe that heroic and dramatic actions will on their own trigger off mass insurrection. The insurrectionary conditions which will lead to victory will only arise with the intensification of the mass struggle and when the people themselves see violence as the only way out. Their undoubted anger,



hatred and frustration is not enough; it must be translated into a widespread contempt for death, a readiness amongst all strata of the oppressed people to die rather than to submit.

This will only come about when the people learn from their own experience that it is not only necessary *but possible* to defeat the enemy by armed activity even though the task be a difficult one. To bring this about it is necessary not only to spread skill and understanding on the strategy and tactics of a people's war but it is also necessary for advanced cadres to complement the people's mass struggle with organised blows which will demonstrate the capacity of the revolutionary forces to successfully meet the enemy on his own ground.

Such activity must be related to the issues most affecting the people so that they will increasingly experience the connection between their day-to-day mass struggle and the possibilities of transforming it, increasingly into mass resistance and ultimately into a nation-wide armed struggle.

December 1972

# **The international situation**

In this epoch of the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism, the world-wide contradiction between imperialism and socialism, between reaction and progress, remains the central conflict of the times. The period since our 1970 plenary session has been marked by a consolidation of the anti-imperialist forces — the socialist countries, the working class movement and the national liberation movements — and by a relative weakening of the position of the imperialist powers, beset by inner contradictions and incurable crises.

The imperialists have continued to do all in their power to undermine the socialist countries and to impede the advance of the people everywhere toward national freedom, democracy and socialism. They have kept up their brutal intervention and aggression against Vietnam and other parts of Indo-China, against the Arab peoples in the Middle East and Palestine, and elsewhere. They engage in ceaseless activities and intrigues against the independence of African, Asian, Latin American and other countries open to their influence.

On balance, however, they have failed and are failing in their designs.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have strengthened their economic and defence potentials. They have resolutely adhered to their policy of peaceful co-existence of



states with different social systems, and have taken important initiatives which have won massive public support in all countries.

The heroic and dauntless defence of their country and its independence by the people of Vietnam, holding the front line against imperialist aggression, has forced the US invaders to negotiate for a political settlement and the withdrawal of all their forces. Such a settlement — backed by the solidarity and vigilance of the progressive forces everywhere against the continuation or renewal in any form of colonialist intervention — can ensure a stable peace for Vietnam and the whole of Indo-China and enable the peoples of these countries to exercise their right of self-determination.

Important gains have been scored for the anti-imperialist forces in a number of countries, as in Chile where a people's government, backed by the working class, maintains its power against all intrigues; and as in Bangladesh and the Portuguese African colonies, where substantial advances have been won for the cause of national liberation.

The world movement for peace, headed by the World Peace Council, has developed with increasing influence and authority, contributing effectively to the individual struggle against war, colonialism and racialism.

All these developments have compelled the imperialists — while relinquishing none of their aims — to make a number of substantial concessions to the forces of peace and social progress.

The conclusion of treaties on limitation of strategic arms and other questions between the Soviet Union and the USA; the major steps towards normalisation of relations between the socialist countries and the Federal Republic of Germany and towards the proper international recognition of the German Democratic Republic; the businesslike preparations for a European Conference on Security and Co-operation; the Security Council's call on Portugal to negotiate for the transfer of power to the Africans in her colonies — all these are indications that the most extreme 'hawks' and protagonists of cold war are being forced on to the retreat, and that the

rulers of imperialism are being compelled by history to make a more realistic and sober assessment of their possibilities.

Our Party warmly welcomes these developments, both as contributions towards international peace and disarmament and as helping to create more favourable conditions for the victory of our own people over fascism and racialism. It is not the oppressed people of South Africa but their imperialist and racist oppressors who – like the Zionists in Israel or the traitors' regime in Saigon – seek to prolong and intensify the 'cold war' which enables them to muster support in the guise of last-ditch defenders against the 'Communist danger'.

We indignantly reject the so-called 'super-powers' theory by means of which the Peking propagandists seek to identify US imperialism, notorious suppressor of the people's rights everywhere, with the Soviet Union which over more than fifty years has unfailingly defended and upheld those rights.

At the same time we vigorously condemn the nationalistic and opportunist action of the present leaders of the Chinese People's Republic in blocking the entry of Bangladesh into the United Nations. Such actions are a clear indication that the Maoist leadership's wrong policy of anti-Sovietism is, step by step, leading to the betrayal of socialism and endangering the historic gains of the great Chinese revolution.

The Central Committee warmly greets the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Union of Soviet Republics. It congratulates the Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on their glorious achievements in building a society of fraternal and equal socialist nations. These are not only their victories but also those of all mankind in its quest for a better life. We resolve to do all in our power to build yet stronger and firmer friendly relations between our two Marxist-Leninist Parties and in the ranks of the Communist movement throughout the world.

## II

The oppressed people of South Africa warmly appreciate the solidarity shown to their just cause by the democratic and



anti-racialist peoples of the whole world, who have for many years expressed in words and deeds their sympathy with our national liberation movements in their demands for a democratic society based on equality, justice and human dignity.

At the Rabat summit meeting of the Organisation of African Unity, a firm stand was taken with regard to Southern Africa, calling for increased support for the Southern African liberation movements and dealing a stinging rebuff to the treacherous advocates of 'dialogue' and other dealings with the anti-African regimes of Vorster, Smith and Caetano.

Of immense value and significance has been the practical aid given to the fighting liberation movements by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The broad anti-apartheid movements have likewise been of great service to the cause of African freedom, particularly those working in imperialist countries and challenging their governments' assistance to the white racialists of Southern Africa.

At the forum of such bodies as the United Nations, the great majority of the representatives have repeatedly condemned apartheid as an offence against humanity and a threat to world peace. Calls for boycotts, arms embargoes and other forms of solidarity action to isolate and quarantine the Southern African racialists have, with the effective support of the African, socialist and other countries, been adopted in a wide variety of fields, ranging from commerce and diplomacy to culture and sport.

If such decisions have been limited in their effect it is because they have time and again been ignored, infringed and sabotaged by Britain, France, the United States and other imperialist powers, interested in maintaining their super-profits on their investments in our country and thus in the preservation of white domination and apartheid.

The people of the world should be on their guard against the open and concealed defenders of apartheid who always and everywhere seek pretexts and plausible reasons for accommodation and 'dialogues' with the fascist regime in our country.

The United States and its imperialist allies are hard at work trying to sell their false and self-interested argument that foreign investment will help to 'liberalise' the economy and the social structure of South Africa. It is the reverse of the truth. The foreigners who invest money in South Africa do so not because they want to help our people but because they know that in our country labour is cheap and profits are high. Their investments can serve only to strengthen the apartheid regime in imposing ever-harsher measures to impoverish the masses and strengthen the machinery of oppression whose ultimate purpose is to ensure cheap labour.

It becomes ever clearer to every African that the fascist Republic of South Africa — South African imperialism — is the central bastion of oppression in Southern Africa. The Pretoria regime is the policeman of white supremacy in our region. It holds Namibia in its grip. It dominates neighbouring Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. It props up the Smith pirate police state in Salisbury and the Portuguese wars against Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau. It menaces every independent state, from Zambia and Tanzania to the far North.

The fight against this evil and monstrous regime is the common cause of the whole of Africa — and in the first place of those most directly concerned.

We, South African revolutionaries, hail the magnificent struggles of our brothers and sisters — the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau. We pledge our unconditional solidarity with their fight.

We call for maximum unity in action in our common struggle against the common enemy — the unholy alliance of Vorster, Smith and Caetano backed by the most racialistic elements of international imperialism.

It is the unity and courage of our people, our will for freedom, readiness to sacrifice and die for the cause, which alone can enable us to win the rights of man. We must and we shall fight our own battles.

In this fight the sympathy and solidarity of the freedom-loving majority of mankind is a material factor of the utmost



importance in arming our people. It sustains and reinforces us with the conviction that our just cause will prevail.

That is why the South African Communist Party makes a renewed appeal to our working class, socialist and democratic well-wishers everywhere to multiply and intensify their efforts against the theory and practice of apartheid.

Isolate the white racist regimes!

All support to the fighting liberation movements of South and Southern Africa!

December 1972

# **The Non-Capitalist Path In Africa**

## **SOME PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES**

by **ALBERT TSHUME**

In my previous article, (*The African Communist* No. 51), the genesis and evolution down till 1960 of the Marxist-Leninist concept of the neo-capitalist path were traced, some peculiar features of this path in Africa were identified, and some misconceptions about it were mentioned. The following article represents a continuation of this theme, carrying forward the story of the evolution in theory and practice of non-capitalist development since 1960, and dealing with some specific objections. It needs to be stressed that the issues being dealt with are complex and numerous, and no attempt can be made in a short article to deal with all aspects comprehensively — especially since practice in numerous African and Asian countries over the past decade or two has vastly 'enriched' theory and raised many new questions which could not even be posed, leave alone solved, a mere twenty years ago.

We have shown previously how the 1960 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties analysed under the designation 'the state of national democracy' the characteristic tasks and features of those new states of Africa and Asia which are defending their independence, overcoming the colonial legacy of economic backwardness and aiming at social progress and justice. Nowadays the concept of a 'state of national democracy' is not so common in Marxist literature about the developing countries. This is not because the idea was or is an incorrect one. As a generalised picture of an anti-imperialist state in



the Third World on the path towards socialism, of such a state's *objective* needs and features, the 'state of national democracy' is no less relevant as a model today that it was when the concept was first fully spelled out over a decade ago. The fact that no single state embodies all the features of the model is to be expected; conversely, the presence of certain common tendencies in the socialist-oriented states of Africa and Asia is also to be expected, and it is these which are summed up and generalised in the concept of the state of national democracy.

No, if the term is not so widely used today it is because the reality it reflects has meanwhile moved on, developed and become more differentiated. Closely connected with this is the fact that too optimistic and unrealistic expectations were frequently attached to the original conception of the exciting possibilities for revolutionary change of the new states in the first flush of post-colonial confidence.

The early successes gave rise to a much too optimistic and facile view of things which amounted to idealising the outlook. Afterwards difficulties and reverses. . . brought out the negative aspects of the activity of the progressive forces, which led to certain one-sided estimations. (The Tunisian delegate to the 1969 Moscow Meeting of Communist & Workers' Parties).

Without looking further afield than Africa, we can now see that the developmental tendencies of the new states are more varied and complex than was realised in the past. (The phrase 'developmental tendencies' needs emphasising because if one looks statically at tropical African countries they often display similar features. Broadly speaking this is true whether one takes their social structure, or level of economic development, or their dependence on capitalist markets, and other aspects of the neo-colonial relations in which the imperialist powers ensnared the African peoples while conceding them independence, we can distinguish the following tendencies:

(a) *The capitalist-oriented states*

These are characterised by the more-or-less free hand given both to foreign capital and to domestic exploiting classes. The influx of foreign capital may create an illusion of rapid economic growth, but behind the cosy statistics lies the grim reality of the growing impoverishment of the bulk of the people, a process which may be temporarily concealed by the capacity of the subsistence economy, in which most Africans are involved, to cushion the effects of unemployment, low wages and low prices for agricultural produce. Regimes of this sort may

try to mask their neo-colonialist character by demagoguery about some sort of 'African socialism' (e.g. Senghor in Senegal, the late Mboya in Kenya). Or they may be blatantly acquiescent in imperialism's designs (e.g. Houphouët-Boigny in Ivory Coast, Banda in Malawi). Or they may use diversionary tactics, either taking up real problems in an opportunist manner (Mobutu's 'authenticity' campaign in Zaire, Bokassa's barbaric anti-crime drive in the C.A.R., Amin's racist onslaught on the Asian petit-bourgeoisie) or creating out of genuinely progressive forces a scapegoat either internal (Nimeiry's anti-Communist witch-hunt in the Sudan) or external. Despite all this, the reactionary and anti-popular character of these regimes and the general tendency of their countries' development on capitalist lines are clearly identifiable.

(b) *The socialist-oriented states*

These are characterised by the very opposite of what marks out the above states. They fight against foreign capital and its economic and political influence, and against the growth of indigenous exploiting classes. Their regimes are of a revolutionary-democratic character, sometimes proclaiming scientific socialism as their goal (like the Congolese Party of Labour and the Supreme Revolutionary Council of Somali Republic), sometimes a socialism which is a blend of scientific and utopian conceptions (as in Tanzania and Guinea). While unable as yet to free themselves completely of the need to sell their primary products on capitalist world markets and to get investment capital whether public or private from the advanced capitalist countries (in addition to the substantial help they get from the socialist countries), they nevertheless take up a consistent anti-imperialist, anti-racist stand even at the price of economic and other reprisals by the imperialists who expect more servile behaviour of their former subjects. They are not yet socialist, but for all their difficulties and the unevenness of their progress, they have hitched their wagon firmly to the red star which already shines over one-third of mankind.

(c) *Other progressive states*

Between the two polar opposites discussed above lie a group of countries whose direction is much harder to discern. While for our present purposes it may be legitimate and even useful to allocate them to one or other category, for most purposes it is far more important to analyse the differing tendencies *within* them, which of course requires a concrete examination of the processes of class formation and



class conflict. For the moment, however, we may sub-divide them into two: i) countries which take some anti-imperialist steps, especially measures to bring their major national assets under national control (e.g. Libya and its oil, Zambia and its copper), but which cannot be said to be ruled by revolutionary democratic regimes. Some have not proclaimed socialism as their goal. Ultimately, of course, as shown in our previous article, such countries can develop only towards socialism or capitalism, but where they are going cannot be defined exactly yet. The combination of internal and international forces which will resolve this fundamental question one way or the other is often so complex that prediction is pointless, but no Marxist should make the mistake of lumping these countries together with those clearly oriented towards capitalism. A more understandable mistake – but still, in my opinion, a mistake – would be to classify them uncritically with the socialist-oriented countries. It is precisely at this point that one can see the need for the further refinement of the concept of the state of national democracy inasmuch as this concept embraces both what I have called the socialist-oriented and the progressive states. Or, to put it another way, the states of both these kinds exhibit in varying degrees some of the attributes of a state of national democracy. Yet they need to be distinguished. And the matter becomes more complicated when one considers another type of progressive state:

(ii) the state which has launched out on the path of non-capitalist development, taken anti-imperialist and anti-feudal measures and yet ground to a halt on the non-capitalist path, without going so far as to desert it for the trammels of neo-colonialism and submission to imperialism. Of such a type is the Arab Republic of Egypt; some might prefer to place Guinea here also rather than amongst the socialist-oriented states. It is less important to argue specific cases than it is to recognise this possible line of development, a reality which shows once again how life is richer than theory, since logically such a standstill on a revolutionary course must be resolved either in favour of more revolution or by a swing towards reaction, towards capitalism. Logic is of course correct, but insufficient for an appreciation of reality. The hall-mark of this theoretically temporary (though in practice it may be protracted) tendency of development is the coming to power within revolutionary-democratic regimes of petit-bourgeois and middle bourgeois forces linked closely with the state apparatus and dependent for

their further development along bourgeois lines on their monopoly of political power.

### HOW TO DISTINGUISH

Before passing on to specific problems of the non-capitalist path we may pause to examine the methodology of the above analysis. It can be readily seen that the identification of the different possible patterns of development requires an overall view of any given country. Where it is going cannot be inferred solely from the claims of its leaders, from their class composition, from the socio-economic measures which they have taken, from the country's connections with imperialism and with the socialist world, or indeed from any single aspect of their existence. Moreover, we are not here dealing with different socio-economic formations, but with different tendencies within the national liberation movement at its present state when in general its content is assuming a deeper social and anti-capitalist character. Finally, it is clear that such an analysis of how African countries are developing is impossible without the recognition of the Leninist conception of non-capitalist development creating the conditions for the transition to socialism\* the scientific analysis of non-capitalist development and its possible outcome distinguishes contemporary Marxism-Leninism both from bourgeois sociology's chaotic jungle of concepts such as modernisation, 'development theory', structural-functionalism and systems analysis, and from the all-or-nothing over-simplifications of petit-bourgeois radicalism (Fanon, Samir Amin, Arrighi and Saul etc.)

The need for an overall view, an analysis of motive forces, ideology, government policy, economic development etc, has to be asserted in opposition to one-sided selection of 'key' elements and omission of certain factors. For example, some radicals looking at Tropical Africa's future attach no importance to the socialist aspirations of many of its

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\* I would like to take this opportunity to correct an inaccuracy in my previous article. My sentence (on p.107) reading "In reality, the non-capitalist path is the general form of the transition to socialism. . ." should read 'In reality, the non-capitalist path is the general form of the approach to the transition to socialism. . . etc.' The original wording runs together two distinct historical stages.



leaders — who of course in espousing socialism are responding to, and to some extent expressing the deep yearning of the mass of the people. This disregard of aims is justified on the ground that both sincere patriots like Nkrumah and Nyerere and bourgeois intellectuals like Senghor advocate socialism, and therefore it can be concluded that a socialist pose does not distinguish the revolutionary sheep from the reactionary goats, and is no firm guide to the real intentions of leaders and parties. The scientific approach to this question traces the common features of utopian socialism and other forms of pre-scientific socialism, distinguishes within this range of ideology between varieties which come closer to and those diverging further from scientific socialism, and also pays attention to how parties' or leaders' conceptions of socialism develop with experience. Finally, it makes of programmatic aims, governmental declarations etc., ie. of ideology in general, an important element in any estimation of where a particular regime is heading, but not the sole element. To see the difference between a Senghor and a Sekou Toure is only the beginning of an all-sided analysis of the overall orientation of their regimes; not to see the difference at all is a blindness which is fortunately quite rare.\*

It is also important to note that societies taking the non-capitalist path do not represent a distinct socio-economic formation, such as capitalism, feudalism, 'the Asiatic mode of production' or communism. On the contrary, they are characterised by the co-existence of several socio-economic formations, and different states of development within those broad historical formations. Most Tropical African countries combine elements of natural (ie subsistence) economy, feudalism, simple commodity production, machine industry (usually barely begun) — the latter two representing the initial and middle states of capitalist development — and in addition, elements of state capitalism and even socialism (within the state sector in countries launched on the non-capitalist path). Additionally, their super-structure often manifests feudal influences and institutions, and ethnic ties are still strong everywhere.

The direction which such multi-form countries take is only partly

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\* An example of a failure to see the different tendencies of development in countries with some common cultural and economic features is Samir Amin's study of Morocco, Algeria & Tunisia, *The Maghreb in the Modern World*. (Penguin Modern Africa Library)

determined by spontaneous developments within the economic base; the primary and decisive factor is in the political sphere — who has state power and how it is used. To illustrate this, one has only to recall how, after the counter-revolutionary coup against Nkrumah, Ghana's state sector was carved up for private enterprise, foreign and domestic capital ran riot with profiteering and exploitation, and the whole socio-economic orientation of the country was switched, towards capitalism.

The primacy of the political factor in determining whether a country takes or abandons the non-capitalist path underlines in special circumstances the general truth which Lenin hammered home repeatedly, namely that the fundamental question of any revolution is the question of who has state power. But before we touch on some problems of the coming into existence and consolidation of revolutionary democratic regimes, some prior questions of the motive forces of non-capitalist change must be raised.

To what extent is the bourgeoisie, and especially its wealthier sections, capable of supporting non-capitalist trends in Tropical Africa today? This simple question raises some of the most controversial issues, and the difficulty of seeing clearly to their heart is aggravated by muddled use of terms. Let us start by sorting out the different elements in the African bourgeoisie:

(1) *The national bourgeoisie* which we can define as that 'part of the local bourgeoisie that stands for the country's independent economic and political development, is interested in expanding the domestic market and in creating and developing national productive forces, and strives to be independent of imperialism both within the country and in the international arena.\* The key element in this definition is the national bourgeoisie's striving for independence. We shall return to this, but first the peculiar features of the national bourgeoisie in Tropical Africa must be mentioned. In common with most developing countries, the national bourgeoisie's capital is small in size and weak in relation to that of international monopoly capitalists. Moreover, it is applied principally in distribution rather than in production. That is to say, commercial and loan capital predominate, industrial capital (where

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\* A. Iskenderov: *"Africa; Politics, Economy, Ideology"* (Progress Publishers — Moscow 1972)



it exists) being chiefly foreign, and monopoly and finance capital almost entirely foreign. In this respect the contemporary African bourgeoisie is very different from the classical bourgeoisie in Western Europe, whose revolutionariness vis-a-vis feudalism Marx often stressed. But this difference must not be exaggerated to the point of denying that the African bourgeoisie has any interest in, any scope for developing the productive forces or growing in the sphere of trade, even in competition with the powerful giant companies of the West. We can also note that the national bourgeoisie is more developed in West Africa than in East and Central Africa, and that in East Africa commercial capital has usually been in the hands of Asians.

The important thing to clarify in all this is those elements in the national bourgeoisie's economic role which provide an objective basis for its striving for independence. We focus on two aspects, without suggesting that they are exhaustive. First, local commercial and loan capital is interested in gaining control of domestic markets in order to build itself up into industrial capital (usually by importing machinery and establishing processing plants, especially in food, textiles and other consumer goods). If wholesale and retail trade is to a great extent dominated by foreign capital, this expansion is blocked. Typically, local capital is too weak to oust foreign capital in ordinary competition. It needs state intervention, in the form of import controls, issue of trading licences, manipulation of credits etc. To the extent that foreign capital has not yet been eliminated in Tropical Africa, the local commercial and money-lending bourgeoisie has a latent anti-imperialist potential. Then, when local capital through State intervention has been able to secure a monopoly of a new country's exports, it finds itself a victim of the low monopoly prices operated by the cartels of the imperialist countries against the primary products of all developing countries. Herein lies another source of conflict between the national bourgeoisie and foreign capital, and the basis for its objective interest in the development of an independent economy.

Against these considerations operate the more general features of the national bourgeoisie — its interest as a bourgeoisie in exploiting the working people, whether in production or via the market; and in addition, because of its close connections with the industry of post-independence politicking in African countries has been the expression of sharp rivalries among different elements of the bourgeoisie reflect-

ing the contradictions of its growth as a class. Such elements, variously defined by regional or ethnic patterns, usually differ little from each other as to their corruptness, avarice, or the utter bankruptcy of their socio-economic policies to solve the problems of the ordinary people. It is partly because these elements have been the most visible in recent years, with their coups and wars and sensational scandals, that the other, positive aspect of the national bourgeoisie is often lost sight of, and its existence even denied as a general proposition\*. Without a great many more concrete studies of individual African countries we can do no more at present that indicate the dual and contradictory characteristics of the national bourgeoisie at the present stage of the national democratic revolution, and recognise that the possibility may exist in some situation of the national bourgeoisie having already degenerated into an anti-national, comprador force.

(2) The comprador bourgeoisie is characterised by its anti-national, pro-imperialist and parasitic nature. It seeks no autonomous development of the national economy, and is content to skim off some of the profits made by foreign capital of which it is, both economically and politically, merely an agent. It looks for quick profits without long-term commitments, indulges in speculation, bribery and racketeering. It does not, necessarily comprise a distinct group of people from those described as the national bourgeoisie: rather are there two patterns of development of opposed character within the bourgeoisie. Because of this, and because of the close interconnections of both types of bourg-

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\* For example, Ruth First (*African Communist* No. 49 p.97) confuses two logically and politically distinct issues: a) whether there is a national bourgeoisie (This is what is really at stake in the discussion whether the national bourgeoisie has any revolutionary potential); and b) what possibilities exist for the formation of a united front of all anti-imperialist and progressive forces. The latter does not in theory depend upon the former. Indeed, the very coming to power of such a united front signifies the end of the hegemony of the national bourgeoisie in the national liberation movement, and this, in one expert's opinion, is the decisive criterion of non-capitalist development. (See Ulyanovsky in *World Marxist Review* No. 6, 1970). It is possible to conceive abstractly a united anti-imperialist front in developing countries in which no section of the bourgeoisie participates at all; but at the present time it does not exist in reality.



geoisie with ruling political circles (be they military or civilian, in the parliamentary, administrative or judicial sphere), I find it unhelpful to speak of a bureaucratic bourgeoisie in Tropical African countries. The term is useful insofar as it brings out this interpenetration of bourgeois strata with the state machinery, and reminds us how, at many levels and with widespread consequences, aspirants to bourgeois status and wealth seek to utilise bureaucratic roles to further their personal and family interests. But insofar as it fails to distinguish between the reactionary and the progressive sections of the bourgeoisie, identifying only what is common to them, and that in the political sphere (unrelated to relations of production and distribution), the term is inadequate.

### MIDDLE STRATA

A striking feature of the present level of development of class forces in Tropical Africa is the predominance of the middle strata and the petit-bourgeoisie of town and country. These are very heterogeneous groups. In the towns, the intelligentsia, self-employed businessmen (ranging from taxi-drivers and traders to handicraftsmen), white-collar workers in commerce, industry and government administration, and most levels of the army between the top brass and the rank-and-file soldiers. In West Africa, in the countryside, between half and two-thirds of the peasantry — the middle peasants — fall into this category. East and Central Africa contain more variety, and recent information is hard to come by. But it is important to take into account here the similarities between self-sufficient peasants producing for the market and tribally-rooted subsistence farming peasants. We have not space to identify these diverse elements precisely or to enumerate them fully. But the fact that in Tropical Africa it is from these circles that the most active political forces arise at present calls for comment.

The pseudo-Marxist Cassandras who deny the possibility of a non-capitalist path towards socialism in the absence of a developed proletariat stress particularly the class and political limitations of the petit-bourgeoisie. (The word does not entirely embrace all the social elements we are talking about but will serve as a sort of shorthand). Of course, the duality, the ambivalence of the petit-bourgeoisie has long been

recognised as a key element in Marxist class analysis. The problem is then, given a weak and small urban proletariat, and a working peasantry that is scattered, unorganised and lacking in class consciousness, how can Tropical African countries march towards socialism under the leadership of these unstable and vacillating elements? What objective basis is there for a firm anti-capitalist orientation amongst people who by definition are, so to speak, semi-capitalist themselves?

Unless we have a clear answer to this question we cannot explain the firm socialist orientation of African leaders such as Sekou Toure and Nyerere as anything but a short-lived aberration. Nor can we lay bare the dynamics of non-capitalist development and account scientifically for the achievements of the socialist-oriented African countries. Above all, without a clear answer we will not grasp the tremendous challenge of the late twentieth century for the new states of Africa — the chance to by-pass the treadmill of capitalism and reach socialism by a transitional path.

A full answer would fill a book, and cover again some of the ground already covered, e.g. the analysis above of the objective basis of the national bourgeoisie's revolutionary potential. The fundamental point, however, is this: the main task facing African states is overcoming their backwardness in the economic, social and cultural spheres. An essential condition for achieving this is independence — not merely, as Lenin long ago warned, in the political sphere\*, but economically. This independence calls for a resolute anti-imperialist struggle, in which the overwhelming majority of the people are deeply interested. This anti-imperialist struggle is in essence democratic, and it calls for democratic solutions to the economic and political problems facing Africa. When capitalism was in the ascendant, the struggle for democracy was bourgeois in essence, and political democracy could only create the conditions for the further development of capitalism. Today, with capitalism in decline and socialism in the ascendant, democracy approxi-

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\* In his draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions for the 2nd Congress of the Communist International in 1920, Lenin drew attention to the need to expose widely, especially in the backward countries, 'the deception systematically practised by the imperialist powers which, under the guise of politically independent states, set up states that are wholly dependent upon them economically, financially, and militarily.' (Sel. Works Vol. III p. 437)



mates closer to socialism in its essence, and its socio-economic content becomes increasingly anti-capitalist.

Capitalism cannot hold out any solution to the problems of contemporary Africa, and this objective fact imposes severe limitations upon the possibilities of petit-bourgeois political forces developing further along bourgeois lines. Whether the immediate problem be the control by a people of their natural resources and their harnessing and further development, or the establishment of domestic industry, or the training of technical cadres and overcoming of illiteracy, or the raising of agricultural productivity and enlarging the scale of peasant production – whatever the problem, the solution lies in the direction of democracy and closer relations with the socialist countries, that is to say, in the direction of such measures as cooperation in agriculture, nationalisation, a cultural revolution, disinterested economic aid etc.

Experience of the past decade in Africa shows that petit bourgeois revolutionary democrats are impelled along the non-capitalist path by the logic of the dilemmas they face. Looking back over the development of countries as dissimilar as Egypt\* and Tanzania one can see major steps taken on the non-capitalist path by social forces which seemed to be acting *ad hoc*, solving problems in a revolutionary way but without well-developed programmatic perspectives. Measures have been adopted which may even be more far-reaching than their authors intend. And always the choice is between the self-seeking narrow interests of a small class or group, inclining towards capitalism, and the interests of wide intermediate strata and the mass of the working people which demand democratic solutions and in varying degree incline towards socialism. It is often said that the reason why most Africans prefer some sort of socialism to capitalism is that for them, capitalism and colonialism are practically synonymous, and – of course – their experience of colonialism has been wholly unfavourable. This is true, but it is not the only reason why; if it were, the coming generation, born and bred since independence might be expected to be more tolerant of capitalism, a curiosity for which little evidence exists. More basically, the rejection of capitalism by the African masses (including the urban and rural petit bourgeoisie) stems from their recognition –

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\* G. Mirsky writes: 'Egypt is an interesting example of such a revolution in which practice outstrips theory.' (African Communist No. 41 – 1970 p.22)

however partial and limited it may be — that capitalism cannot promote an all-round improvement in their lives.

### POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Having touched on some of the factors impelling African countries and their popular leaders in the direction of socialism, we can turn briefly to some of the political problems which revolutionary-democratic regimes face in practice. The ease with which some progressive governments have been overthrown in recent years, plus some obvious weaknesses amongst survivors, has tended to cause pessimism in some circles. The social base of such regimes is in theory broad, embracing (amongst other sections) the bulk of the peasantry who comprise up to 90 per cent of the population. In practice these governments sometimes look seriously fragile, with their socialist orientation apparently dependent on the personal charisma of an outstanding dedicated leader backed by a few loyal henchmen in the state and party apparatus. The question of wide, deep and active links between a revolutionary democratic leadership and the peasant masses is of vital importance. Peasants are dispersed over vast areas, subject to religious and ethnic influences of a reactionary kind, prey to parochialism, difficult to organise and rally behind the relatively more wealthy, educated town-based leadership. The failure of the Sudanese Union in Mali to solve this difficult problem was one of the contributory factors to the crisis within the party leadership in 1967 (when reactionary elements paralysed the progressive wing and brought the government to a standstill, paving the way for a military coup in 1968). Nkrumah's downfall was facilitated by the organisational and ideological weakness of the ruling C.P.P. and the paucity of its links with working people of Ghana.

To look at failures only naturally distort the picture. Tropical Africa also offers several instructive examples of successes in this sphere. In Tanzania, for example, TANU has come up with an original method of maintaining strong one-party rule while providing voters with a democratic choice of candidate in general elections (see *African Communist* No. 23 — report by A. Langa). By this and other methods, TANU maintains its character as a vanguard party closely linked with masses. In Guinea, a certain stagnation that had crept into party



life was sharply dispelled by the imperialist invasion of 1970 which stimulated a re-invigoration of party life. This entailed thousands of mass meetings by local revolutionary committees, regional Party committees, and mass organisations of women, youth and the trade unions. The revolutionary-democratic regimes in the People's Republic of the Congo and other progressive African states take a variety of measures to strengthen the leading role of the ruling party and deepen its ideological firmness and influence. (For details, see E. Onan: *The Decolonisation of Culture in Africa* in World Marxist Review No. 7, 1972),

The problem of building a mass vanguard party linked widely with the working masses is particularly acute where the petit-bourgeois democrats who come to power are military men. Predisposed by their profession to leadership by command, rigid organisational methods, and reliance on bureaucratic channels of communication, they often fail to appreciate the need for a vigorous political party capable of mobilising the peasant masses, or — seeing the need — fail to devote the enormous care, effort and persistence which the task requires. In this context, countries like Algeria and Egypt spring readily to mind. Indeed, the tortuous history of the Arab Socialist Union in Egypt over the past decade seems to provide a compendium of all the misfortune and crises that can befall a revolutionary-democratic party threatened at every stage of its development by paralysis, by bureaucrats, straggling by the bourgeoisie, and the appearance of apathy and neglect by the rural poor who stand most to gain from the victory of a dynamic party over the forces of reaction. Yet the party surmounts each crisis, confounding the pessimists and providing the existence of powerful objective factors favouring the course of non-capitalist development. The proscription of the Communist Party in Egypt, however, has robbed the regime of its most class conscious and committed anti-imperialist force, contributed to the continuing crisis with the ASU, and given comfort to those elements in Egypt who would seek a deal with US imperialism. Another revolutionary-democratic regime of military men is that headed by the Supreme Revolutionary Council in Somalia, which took power in 1969 and still faces the urgent problem of building a political party that will unite the country's nomads and urban workers and other strata behind the progressive leadership.

The transformation of revolutionary-democratic parties into strong vanguard parties is closely connected with their growing orientation

towards Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism. History abounds with examples of individual petit-bourgeois democrats who have been transformed in the course of revolutionary struggle. Karl Marx, Engels and V.I. Lenin in their time came to scientific socialism through this very process, as Fidel Castro in Cuba. The writings and speeches of the outstanding leader of the PAIGC in Guine (Bissau) Amilcar Cabral are indicative of a similar evolution in African conditions. But the transformation of a whole political party is a more protracted and complex process. Here the history of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) is of great significance for our struggles today. Coming to power in the crucible of a fierce anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution after the end of the First World War, the MPRP was a petit-bourgeois revolutionary-democratic party in its ideology and class composition. It could hardly be otherwise in a country where hardly any working class existed and most of the working class were arats (nomadic herdsman). In close alliance with the Bolshevik party and protected from direct imperialist intervention by the revolutionary strength of the first workers' state, the MPRP set its face towards socialism and steered a non-capitalist path through the 20-year democratic phase of the Mongolian Revolution. The evolution of the party was beset by hazards from all sides:

The right opportunists who surfaced in the Party in the twenties hindered the country's further development and obstructed decisive and uncompromising action against the feudal class. They scorned the idea of non-capitalist development, departing openly from the Party's policy and the principles of proletarian internationalism. Much harm was also done by the 'left' opportunists who disregarded Mongolia's historical specifics and tried to speed the growth of the socialist mode of production by driving herdsman into co-operatives in the early thirties, when the essential pre-conditions were still lacking. (*MPRP – The Nation's Vanguard*, by T. Dugersuren, in *World Marxist Review* No. 2, 1971)

By the early forties, the democratic phase had been brought to a successful conclusion and the MPRP could lead the transition to socialism. By then it had itself become a Marxist-Leninist Party – even though, as late as 1940, workers comprised only 6.4% of the Party's membership. This demonstrates the extraordinary influence of the ideas of scientific socialism in the national liberation movement in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and their urgent relevance to non-proletarian movements leading their countries away from capitalism towards socialism.



This is not to say that all the revolutionary-democratic parties will automatically turn into Marxist-Leninist Parties in the course of time. On the contrary, left to themselves — as we have seen — such parties tend to degenerate into lifeless adjuncts of the state machine, lose their links with the masses, and become the instruments of reactionary forces. Only intensive struggle by honest patriots against careerists and opportunists, only patient and consistent struggle by Marxist-Leninist parties where they exist, and by individual or small study groups of Marxists where parties do not exist, will ensure the further growth and advance of revolutionary democratic parties. In this respect, as in others which we have pointed out in this and the preceding article, the non-capitalist path is the path of sharp class struggle, demanding constant vigilance and resistance to reactionary forces, combined with a careful appreciation of the necessary stages of development and the motive forces objectively capable of carrying each stage to this conclusion. We therefore repudiate any suggestion that advocacy of the non-capitalist path in some mysterious way plays down or minimises internal class struggle. (See *African Communist* No. 49, 1972 p.97). It was precisely because Nkrumah failed to see that the commencement of non-capitalist development in Ghana was precipitating a sharp class conflict within the bourgeoisie between its national and compradore elements that he omitted to take timely measures to protect his party's hold over state power.

The progressive regimes of the African continent face a long and difficult struggle. They comprise a key flank in the world-wide anti-imperialist movement, and their support is a crucial factor in the progress of the revolutionary movement against racism and colonialism in Southern Africa. They deserve credit for their remarkable achievements, and assistance for the future. That is why all revolutionaries hail their successes, and by the scientific analysis of the non-capitalist path can contribute towards their coming victories.

# The Rickshaw

by ALFRED HUTCHINSON

*A short story from South Africa.*

All day Mkwanazi had strained towards the crack, the promise of escape in the new year which was tomorrow. Even as he sat in his cart waiting for his turn or while he chatted with the other rickshaws, he had been straining like a horse in its traces. But looking at the sky, it had seemed ready to blot him out. Now he hobbled along the tarmac, still hot in the late afternoon.

He took in the festive city: its gay streamers and fat-blown balloons; the merry crowds thronging the streets; the tinselly generosity of its mingy heart. No, he could not be bluffed any more, he had fathomed its inner callousness.

'Hek! Hek! Hek! Get along, crooked-foot!'

Mkwanazi knew without turning his head that it was the wit of the party, the red-faced young man with the ridiculous paper cap stuck to the back of his head. He should have refused to take them — the red-face and his two girl friends — he thought. And the hot tarmac stung his feet and its shimmer tugged his eyes into a painful stare. He shut his eyes and shook his head trying to fling the sweat from his eyes.

'Come along, crooked-foot!'

The raucous laughter stung him. Little Black boys sometimes taunted him, calling him 'Donkey-horse' and yelling to him not to litter the



streets, but this egging on stung deeper. A fierce recklessness gripped him. He shot up, curled like a buck suddenly hit, carried upwards on the girls' apprehensive titter as the small wheel at the back of the cart hit the road with a screech. For a few moments it seemed that he would spill his passengers and himself backwards and beyond. He remained for those few moments poised triumphantly in the air. Then he came down, broke into a lope like a wolf on the prowl. A flame of fire shot from his crippled foot. He broke into a pained hobble. But for those few loping strides, those moments above the pain, he had been himself ten years ago.

'Bravo, crooked-foot!'

Mkwanazi hobbled, arguing whether to go on or to stop. He would go on: he had to go on. He knew this with the wet grip of his hands on the worn handle-bars; knew it with the long years of the drag. Ten years ago he had been young and strong. But miles and miles of tarmac, hunger and the compound had broken him. Ten years ago he had come to eGoli, a strange place with houses reaching for the sky and with crowds as thick as swarming bees. How much humanity, how many boxes and packages he had drawn since then . . . And then the accident six months ago . . .

'No, my Boy,' the doctor said shaking his head. 'You'd better look for another job.' His neighbour had interpreted.

But the doctor and some of his fellow-rickshaws had been wrong. He had returned to the cart, hobbling it is true, but he had returned. It was the life he knew. He had not made the choice. He knew the cart behind him, the weight of the load; he knew the maze of the streets whose names he could not read. He knew the hours of waiting at the rank to be hired; he knew the compound, the weary sleep and the long pull on the morrow. He knew Mafuta, the fat White man who hired out rickshaw carts at twelve and six a week after pocketing the ten shillings deposit. And he knew the nights of longing, when cussing his concertina which he carried at the back of his cart, he would sit at a corner of the compound and brand his nostalgia on other hearts . . . Next year it would be different. He would be with his wife, Nomsa, and the children again. He looked at the sky with supplication in his heart. A spasm of pain shot from his foot to his heart. Perhaps the doctor had been right.

'Come on, come on, crooked-foot! Hek! Hek! Hek!'

A bitter hatred filled his panting, bursing breast. He turned red hate-filled eyes on the merry party, in the steet, in the cart. The red-face burst into loud laughter, wriggling his body in imitation of his hobble. He turned his eyes on the road once more. The shimmer was dying. He longed for the compound; for the dingy little window in the smutted walls. He longed for his concertina that he might wring his messages home. He shut his mind to the goading 'hek! hek!' behind. He lifted his mind above the pain of his foot. Maybe it would be different for his children — as Mabuza said. Maybe they would never know what he had known. The crack seemed to have narrowed into a thin fissure of despair. No, Mabuza was wrong: a White man would always remain a White man: he could not be otherwise. He used you and when you were torn and useless threw you away like an old shirt. It seemed like a bitterly-intoxicating discovery that he had just made. He would tell Mabuza just that — and at the beer-hall in front of the others. He threw the blackness of his heart on to the clouds that were slowly gathering ahead and promising rain. He spat dry spit into the street, and hobbled on.

Smooth well-fed White children prattled to the nannies in green. Laughter and song rose around him. A cracker exploded near him, startling him. He was wheezing and yet the long rise to Berea still stretched before him. His eyes smarted now not with sweat, but with unwept tears.

He pulled to a stop outside a block of flats and the party clambered off the cart. Swaying, one of the girls fell on to her knees. Mkwanazi stood waiting to be paid. 'Happy New Year, crooked-foot!' Mkwanazi stared at the red-face. 'Damn you, black bastard, Happy New Year!' He was drunk.

'Mali, Baas, . . . Four shellen sixpence . . .'

'Mali, your . . . Hamba, voetsek!' He waved him away with his hand. 'Voetsek!'

Mkwanazi's gaze did not leave the young man's face. The first blow crashed into his nose. He staggered back gripping the handle-bars of the cart. A flurry of blows dazed him. Then they suddenly stopped like a shot hard summer shower. Through the mist Mkwanazi saw a police car and a policeman dashing out of it towards him. He cowered.

'Ja, yini wena? What's up?

'Lo Baas, . . . Mali kamina . . . Mali . . . Mali . . .'



The policeman was not listening. He was listening to the red-face who was explaining to him and pointing at the girl who had fallen and was still rubbing her knees. With a flash of terror Mkwanaazi knew that he was being framed.

'No, no baas . . . Mali . . . Mali . . . ' He shook his head frantically.

'Shut up, kaffer-hond . . . Lo, Missis . . . Ja . . . ' Mkwanaazi closed his eyes. The look in the policeman's eyes was terrifying. He waited for the blow. He waited, tensing to receive it.

'No, you can't do that . . . ' Mkwanaazi heard a White woman's voice at his side. He knew her for a protector. The policeman turned clamping his chin towards the girl who had fallen.

'He made her fall . . . '

'Nothing of the sort . . . '

'No. no. Missis . . . Four shellen sixpence . . . My mali, mali . . . ' he said desperately like one clutching for salvation.

She turned to the red-face with anger, terrible anger shaking her greying hair. She turned on the policeman with fury. He was furious too.

'Pay the Boy . . . Pay the Boy.' Mkwanaazi heard her say to the red-face.

The red-face shrugged his shoulders and sauntered with the girls on his arm towards the block of flats. She looked with disgust at the policeman turned on Mkwanaazi.

'Trap jong — if you don't want trouble . . . Hamba!' The police car screeched angrily round the corner.

Mkwanaazi looked at the world purple in the dusk of his hurt. He turned to his benefactress. She was already walking down the street. 'Dank, Missis, dank . . . '

Mkwanaazi pulled his cart opposite the entrance of the block of flats into which the red-face had disappeared. He looked at it for a long time, with eyes red with weariness and unwept tears. He spat into the street.

He hobbled on, the pain dull-insistent in his foot. He hobbled on, a lone rickshaw with a twisted foot, carrying in his heart the anguish of the lost four shillings and sixpence for which he had worked and had not got. He suddenly turned his heart against the morrow. He looked at the sky. It was black with storm clouds ready to wash away the old year and usher in the new. The crackers exploded left and right of him but his ears were deaf to them. He headed for the



rank. He felt bound to that cart, bound to it by some inexorable fate. The front bar beat against his stomach with the slap of empty bowels. The crack of escape had sealed. Perhaps he would be able to pick up a last load . . .

A few other rickshaws were still at the rank. He took his place behind them. They did not ask him about his broken lips and swollen eyes. He quietly pulled out his concertina from the back of his cart and cusped it tenderly. And the other rickshaws clustered around. Slowly he wrung his message out of it home, wringing too the bitterness out of soul, thinking of the stations to which that lost four shillings and sixpence would have taken him towards his wife and children. The others, listening, sent their messages home, too.



# **ALFRED HUTCHINSON**

## **— A PROFILE**

**by HENRY MOKGOTHI**

Cramped in his front row seat in the dock, leaning forward slightly, his head cocked on one side as though anticipating a complaint from behind that he is obstructing the view, is Alfred Hutchinson, Accused No. 11. To all the accused and many others, this tall, self-effacing young man is known endearingly as 'Hutch'. And yet how many have not at one time or another condemned Hutch for his numerous offences against accepted conduct! Even those who have been guilty of graver offences have felt much better after giving some gratuitous advice to Hutch about how a responsible leader should conduct himself. And whoever the monitor, Hutch has shown genuine penitence, and promised to mend his ways.

This humility of Hutch has made him a favourite with practically everyone. At his room in Alexandra Township, he is never lonely. Sometimes a colleague comes round to confide in Hutch; sometimes it is his neighbour who just wants to talk to somebody about himself, and often it is the cripple 'Texas' who does not mind Hutch's outbursts of temper against him because he knows that he will ultimately get his own way.

For Hutch loves life. He believes that every person is basically good. It is not surprising that his hero is the great Czech writer and martyr Julius Fucik.

Hutch is most popularly known as a people's writer. His development since the days when he was a student at Fort Hare College, where he

carried away a distinction in English in his arts degree, has been an interesting though painful, process. For Hutch comes of very well-off parents; his father is Scottish, and his mother is from some Royal Swazi house. Hutch could quite easily have chosen to manage his father's farm as he is the eldest child, and so passed his life in the obscurity of Hectorspruit. But when he came to teach in Johannesburg in 1951, Hutch came under the influence of Duma Nokwe, a college friend, who was then studying part-time for this law degree. Two more dissimilar persons could not be imagined: the one a rigorous logician and even at that time a man of the people and the other, an easy going individualist, rather fearful of the 'masses'. When the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust laws came in the winter of 1952, it accelerated a process of painful heart-searching for Hutch. He was honest enough to admit that something had to be done about the mounting tide of oppression that came with the Nationalist government, and he could see the importance of the Defiance Campaign. But it also demanded he renounce his whole upbringing, and the relative comfort of his profession. In the end his honesty saved him, and he volunteered to defy the Unjust Laws. Then followed a period of preparation and peace-making with himself during which he used to harangue the people in the train every morning when he went to school going from coach to coach, explaining the purpose of the Campaign. In December 1952, Hutch defied the Unjust Laws in the same batch with Manilal Gandhi and Patrick Duncan. To this day he considers this the best thing he has ever done. At any rate, this action helped to smash his individualism, and set him steadfast in the search for the new life.

The following year in August Hutch attended the 4th World Festival of Youth and Students For Peace and Friendship at Bucharest in Rumania. This was at the height of the 'cold war', and naturally, we were eager to collect all the facts we could about what was really happening 'behind the Iron Curtain'. We used to go about Bucharest with our note books, wearing our most serious faces, interrogating people, and making jottings feverishly. But Hutch, who had already armed himself with some knowledge of the Rumanian language before we got there, would go among the people and speak directly to them. After getting over the surprise of hearing Hutch speak their language so correctly, the puzzled Rumanians would venture to ask 'Are you Rumanian?' And Hutch would laugh and tell them he was from South



Africa! Hutch picked up most of his knowledge of the Rumanian language from the little kids. They grew so fond of him that even when Hutch was fully proficient in Rumanian, they nevertheless continued to visit him, bringing their own little problems, Hutch always treated them with seriousness and apparently when the kids got home, they would speak about 'Alfred' to their parents, and soon Hutch had whole families coming to visit him.

Back home in 1954 we tried to tell the people about our experiences. The majority of us relied on the dry statistical information that we had collected. I suppose that this was all very well, but I don't know that many people were deeply interested. Hutch, however, was a sensation, and many people who heard him speak at his report-back meeting can still remember most of what he said. He conveyed the uninhibited hospitality of the Rumanians, their love of peace, like ordinary people everywhere; he spoke about the 'kissing dance' with fair maidens that he enjoyed in the streets of Bucharest; he spoke about friendships with workers and professional men he had made in the pubs over mugs of beer. Today, among the ordinary people, the words *Iron Curtain* no longer convey the sinister meaning that cold war politicians would like to convey, and I am sure that here at home Hutch did more than any single person to remove that impression.

When Hutch was arrested at the Central Indian High School where he was teaching, the pupils did their best to restrain their emotions. For Hutch was not merely a teacher, he was a friend to every one of them. Indian school girls and boys outside the Drill Hall in the long months of the trial were the sign that it was visiting day to Hutch.

Hutch is a born teacher, but not one who sees only the blackboard, the textbook and, the four walls of his classroom. Life is his interest, and it throbs in his writing. The penetrating description, the deft, feeling phrase, his needle-sharp perception and his deep sensitivity make his lines and paragraphs unforgettable. Above all, his unerring touch for the appropriate, so that one says 'There, Hutch has it! He's done it again.'

The other day, when African teachers were giving evidence against the 156 accused in connection with the Bantu Education schools boycott, Hutch remarked quietly to me, a one-time fellow teacher: 'There, but for the Grace of God, you see us.'

# ONE PROBLEM AT A TIME

by R. E. Press

Thousands of years ago there were few people on the earth. They lived by getting their food and tools from nearby and dropping their rubbish anywhere. When food or tools became scarce or their shelters dirty they moved on and seldom found other people to quarrel with. Man's numbers and technology were so low that he barely survived and had little impact on nature. Although vast resources were present he did not have the ability to make them available to him. Later man became more numerous and started growing food and building towns. This revolution in the mode of production led to a rapid increase in population and an increased average life span from thirty years to about thirty-eight years.<sup>1,2</sup> Class divisions began. The kings, priests and their supporters made sure they lived in luxury and their waste and rubbish was thrown outside their living quarters. The slaves lived in a different environment from their masters. They had to join the vultures and jackals and live in the midst of and dispose of what their masters threw out. To the natural resources of the ruling class, such as their food and tools, were added slaves.

Control over resources means power, and wars to control resources became more frequent. Slaves, food, metals and other valuables were gathered from far away. The cities of the enemy were burned and despoiled and left as scars on the countryside. (They are now called



monuments of past civilisations and much praised. Little remains of where the masses of slaves worked and died except the rubbish heaps called middens.)

This process of the grand environment for the ruling class and the worst most polluted environment for the masses continued. The consumption of natural resources increased, and some resources such as lead and tin became scarce and had to be found and transported from far afield. Poor agricultural methods laid waste parts of the countryside and some mine workings are still evident to-day. But compared to the destruction of natural resources by the floods of the Nile, eruptions of Vesuvius, fire, ice, storm and tempest, man's use of the laws of nature was pitifully small and no great damage could be done to upset nature's processes of renewal and destruction.

The feudal society was mainly agricultural and with the limited freedom allowed to the serfs they managed to improve their environment. During this time the vast forests of Europe disappeared to be replaced by fields and pastures. The international trade routes were pioneered and the basis laid for capitalism and imperialism. If anything man improved his environment during this time, but it was still on a very small scale.

With the coming of capitalism the importance and size of towns and cities became significant. Peasants were forced off the land to find work in town and factory in the worst of all environments. The difference between town and countryside became greater. The towns became highly polluted since when people threw their rubbish outside it landed on their neighbours — London could be smelt from miles away. The ruling class had two homes one in the town for the purpose of ruling and one in the relatively thinly populated and unpolluted countryside for living. Buckingham Palace in London and Sandringham in Norfolk. The town-house and the mansion in the country. Later some cleaning up of the towns took place because plagues, smog and other pollutants began to threaten the existence of the working class on whose backs the capitalists lived, and even some of the capitalists who had to visit their factories from time to time.

The countryside remained relatively unpolluted and sparsely populated, except where raw materials such as coal, iron, etc. were mined. In such cases the beauties of nature were savagely destroyed for the sake of profit, and no steps were taken to preserve the environment in which the miners had to work and live. Imperialism added a new dimension to

the scope of capitalist actions. The colonies were robbed of their resources like rubber, gold, copper, ivory and enslaved human beings. The rejects and rubbish of capitalism were left in exchange. Mine dumps in Johannesburg, misfits and unemployed, soil erosion where there were once great forests, beads, trinkets and the Bible. The world became divided amongst the imperialist powers and the process of finding new lands to rob of the resources came to an end.

Within the last fifty years new factors have entered the scene. Heralded by the socialist revolution, man is now in control of power and knowledge sufficiently vast to challenge nature's blind uncontrolled forces. Forests can be planted (China<sup>3</sup>), or destroyed (Vietnam<sup>4</sup>), rivers and lakes turned into powerhouses (Irkutsk<sup>5</sup>) or into stinking cesspits (Lakes Erie and Ontario<sup>6</sup>), the power of the sun can be made into atom bombs or power plants, population numbers can be increased or decreased<sup>7</sup>, new plants grown, bacteria destroyed or new, more deadly strains developed (Porton<sup>8</sup>), the mad can be returned to normal life or the normal made mad (nerve gases). The world is one world. Satellites show us the world as it really is, a spaceship travelling in a vacuum. Communications give us instant information, and pictures speak from any part of the globe. Computers can cope with vast calculations and store libraries of information. Distance and time have been conquered.

### **THE ADVENT OF SOCIALISM**

With such power and knowledge and speed of communication comes the need for one overall plan for mankind. A beginning has been made. The working class has taken power in the U.S.S.R. and many other countries. This class is worldwide, has a single philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, and its power heralds the end of classes. Since there is no capitalist class in the Soviet Union and the once exploited class, the working class, is in power, the environment is the working class's environment. There is no sense in dirtying one's own front parlour. Thus the environment, pollution and population become subjects of planning. The laws governing them are becoming better known, the methods of using these laws for the public good are established, and with the elimination of the great unknown 'God' man is becoming master of himself. At every Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, these problems are discussed and the action to be taken



outlined. At the 24th Congress, for example, in the main resolution of the Congress '... in the ninth five-year plan period ... To improve the sanitary conditions of towns and workers' communities, to enhance nature protection and make rational use of natural wealth'.<sup>9</sup> Under the principal tasks in the development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. for 1971–75, in industry they agreed that 'Secondary raw material, fuel and power resources and industrial waste (scrap metal ... waste paper ... broken glass ...) shall be put to fuller use in the national economy'<sup>10</sup> and in agriculture 'Measures for the protection of nature shall be intensified. Ministries, departments, factories, offices and organisations, shall bear greater responsibility for the national utilisation of natural resources; land, water, atmosphere, minerals, and for the conservation of flora and fauna'.<sup>11</sup>

These are no idle words such as we are used to under capitalism. Vast schemes for the prevention of pollution have been complete or are being completed or are being undertaken, for example, in the Volga basin, the Urals,<sup>12</sup> Lake Baikal<sup>13</sup> and many other areas. Factories have been closed down<sup>14</sup> (has this ever happened in a capitalist country?) or made to adopt a closed system<sup>15</sup> to prevent pollution. Cotton production was increased in Central Asia in preference to nylon since this saved water.<sup>16</sup> It was rational, not profitable, to do so. In factory, mine and workshop strict labour laws, controlled by the trade unions are enforced to ensure a safe environment for the workers. Hundreds of similar examples could be quoted not only from the U.S.S.R. but also from other socialist countries.<sup>12</sup> The planned economy is the foundation of socialism and such plans are being internationalised in the joint plans of the socialist countries in Comecon.

What of the capitalist and imperialist countries? The conditions for the working people have deteriorated radically.<sup>17</sup> Industrial accidents and diseases, urban noise and pollution, rubbish tips and motor car graveyards, oil and chemical wastes, slag heaps and poisonous rivers and fumes, these have taken over the centres of capitalist civilisation. It is impossible to list all these disasters but these are a few reminders – Aberfan, Torrey Canyon, Tokyo, where they sell oxygen on the street corners, Rotterdam which imported bottled water from Norway.<sup>12</sup> In Donora in the United States in October 1948, 40% of the population were made ill and twenty people died from atmospheric pollution. Los Angeles smog is not only killing pine trees in the mountains above the

city but is found in the deserts of Arizona and Nevada.<sup>19</sup>

To sum up, the U.S.A. with 6 per cent of the world's population, produces 40 per cent of the world's wood tonnage of pollutants;<sup>12</sup> uses — 40 per cent of the world's wood pulp,<sup>20</sup> 44 per cent of the world's coal, 33½ per cent of its copper, 63 per cent of its natural gas and 33 per cent of its oil. Of nineteen 'non-renewable' natural resources listed<sup>21</sup> the U.S.A. is a major importer of all.

The situation is so critical that town, country, factory sea and forest have become so polluted that pressure from the working class is forcing the capitalists to recognise the dangers.

The rape of the 'Free' world's resources by imperialism has not eased, but is being expanded due to depletion of home based resources. 'At present all industrial nations except possibly the Soviet Union are net importers of most minerals and ores used by them. The dependence of the United States on foreign sources will almost certainly increase greatly during the next generation'.<sup>22</sup> Vast international combines like Rio Tinto Zinc control mines in Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Malaysia, South Africa, Lesotho, Namibia, Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, Australia, Canada, Mexico, Argentina, with mines and their headquarters in the United Kingdom and U.S.A.<sup>23</sup> And wherever Rio Tinto Zinc is found is also found pollution, poisoned workers, poor wages and general destruction. Truly the modern descendants of Atilla the Hun.

What is to be done? This has become a major question for science and technology and has produced a spate of answers by writers in the capitalist world. All of them agree that planning is necessary but none of them recognises (except a few Communists and other working class intellectuals) that the socialist system is a planned system and that capitalism is in its very nature unplannable. 'Capitalist production has a tendency to unlimited expansion, since its aim is the acquisition of maximum profit.'<sup>24</sup> Its laws thus lead it to consume resources not to satisfy real need. The poverty of the masses and shrinking world markets open to the capitalist salesman has forced the production of get-nowhere-fast transport, the disposable utility which provides the shortest distance between resources and rubbish tip, and similar commodities which do not improve the quality of life but increase profit. The Club of Rome and M.I.T. project<sup>21</sup> on resources, pollution and population, based their initial programmes on this capitalist ethic of exponential



growth of commodities. They proved that such a growth leads to disaster. This is yet another vindication of Marxism and the need for the socialist ethic, but needless to say they do not draw this conclusion from their results.

In another trial calculation they produced a world model where the world population is slightly larger than it is to-day, the average food per person twice to-day's average, services per person are three times to-day's level, and average world incomes about half the present United States per capital incomes. Such a stable system seems to me to give a very satisfactory basic standard. Of course it means that the relatively few very highly paid company directors, pop stars, shareholders etc. would have to take a cut in living standards — and sooner the better! It also means tailoring industry, agriculture etc. to man's needs not capitalism's needs, and thus the real message is 'socialism now'.

### **CAPITALISM POLLUTES**

Barry Commoner, not a communist nor even a socialist, but an honest scientist discussing the pollution problem, says 'Production is generally motivated by the desire of short term gain' and this is one of the major causes of pollution.<sup>25</sup> He also points out that the proper use of science and technology can go a long way to solve the problem. This misuse of the scientific and technological revolution is because the capitalists fail to see as the Soviet Union has seen, that 'Science will itself in full measure become a direct productive force'.<sup>26</sup> If this is done then new areas are opened which lead to less pollution and greater use of resources. It makes available to man vast resources which although present in nature are not used due to the present lack of knowledge. This is a vital factor left out of the M.I.T. calculations. The capitalists and those scientists who follow them are blinded by the profit motive. 'In capitalist society the work of the teacher or artist is considered productive not in itself but only depending on whether surplus value can be obtained from it. What was in those days (the time of Marx) an economic paradox and a logical absurdity has now become a deep going economic contradiction and a flagrant social absurdity; in the process of the scientific and technological revolution socially useful work in science, education and public health is growing highly effective economically at the same time it is, on the whole, unproductive and unprofitable as a

sphere of private capital investment'. This is the motive behind the capitalist's demand that science, education development costs (such as for Concorde) for new technologies, and the whole environmental question should be paid for out of general taxation. It is non-profit making in itself, so let capitalist industry supply the instruments and materials, reap the profits on these and let the working people pay for it out of taxation.<sup>27</sup>

The apologists of capitalism will go to great lengths to avoid, confuse, and divert the attention of honest people lest they see the environmental crisis of capitalism. For example, the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry (an august international body of great authority which does much sterling work in standardising on terms and symbols used internationally) held an 'International symposium on the chemical control of the human environment'. It was held in South Africa in conjunction with the South African Chemical Institute. How could it be 'international' when no Communists are allowed to speak in South Africa; how could it be international when only non-blacks are allowed as members of the S.A. Chemical Institute? How can it discuss the *human* environment in inhuman South Africa? Naturally the conclusion states 'All these measures (pollution control) are unproductive and should be carried out only to the extent needed but not as extensively as possible. They must be practiced 'by reasonable means'.<sup>28</sup> Or again 'The problem is how to strike a balance between the benefits (they mean profits) gained from economic and technological achievements and what is being lost in terms of deterioration of the environment.'<sup>29</sup>

It is a question of 'Striking a balance' not of condemning or passing a law against pollution. This is the view of the Royal Commission in the United Kingdom. Or the National Academy of Sciences of the U.S.A. '*Economic chaos* can result if foreign sources of supply are denied to a country (i.e. the U.S.A.) that has allowed itself to become dependent on them.' 'To maintain present production at the average grade of copper mined in the United States, and to allow *net earnings* comparable to those currently had by the major copper companies . . . ' . . . demands for metals is growing exponentially. This growth moreover, has as yet to feel the expected increase in per capita demands, for the *non-military per capita consumption of metals in the developed countries has not grown appreciably in the developed countries*, and the rising expectations of the *underdeveloped cannot be met without*



*capital.*<sup>30</sup> One would have imagined that the scientists who wrote this report would have condemned war and questioned the profit motive and economic system of the U.S.A. but this is singularly lacking in the report.

## POPULATION

The answer to the crisis proposed by the majority of western experts is to be reduce the population on the earth. It is clear that there must be a law governing population numbers and that this law will depend on resources, technology, pollution, food, etc., and although some of the theories and factors are studied by western scientists very little can be done without an overall Marxist approach. In *Capital*, nearly a hundred years ago, Marx said '... every method of production that arises in the course of history has its own peculiar, historically valid law of population'. This needs far greater study by Marxists but it is clear that the level of population has been closely related to the method of production and that the population numbers have increased to higher levels following the changes from primitive communism to slavery. to feudalism and to capitalism. The world is now in the throes of a change from capitalism to socialism, and a new level of population will arise related to socialist production. Since the world is in the midst of change and the development of various areas of the globe are vastly different, a simple overall world picture is a gross distortion. Many of the western scientists deliberately take this view. In this manner they propose that there are too many blacks, Indians, workers, poor, and never that there are too many millionaires.

The accompanying table tries to develop a more balanced view. The figures have been taken from several of the references listed later, and at best are approximate. The general picture is, however, valid. It is clear that the U.S.S.R. has large resources of land and fuel. The population density is relatively low, and the economic system is keeping up with the rate of population increase. The U.S.A. is less well endowed with natural resources and is using them up at a greater rate than any of the others. The economic system of the U.S.A. is doing less well than the U.S.S.R. Africa is not densely populated and has fairly large reserves of land and fuel, It desperately needs a change of economic system since it is not increasing the food per person or the G.N.P. fast

Region	Population Density <sup>1</sup>	Increase % <sup>2</sup>	Food <sup>3</sup>	Increase per person	land used <sup>5</sup>	%land now used <sup>6</sup>	G.N.P. <sup>7</sup>	Increase in G.N.P.% <sup>8</sup>	fuel reserves <sup>9</sup>
U.S.S.R	10	1.3%	3,000 80	34%	2.4 16	64	1,100	6%	17 320
U.S.A.	23	1.5%	3,000 100	18%	2.3 40	51	4,000	3.4%	6 530
All-Africa	9	2.2%	2,000 60	-4%	1.3 3	22	150	low	.3 160
India	100	1.8%	2,000 50	-3%	0.7 1	83	100	1%	.3 low

1 Population density: persons per square kilometre.

2 Rate of increase in population 1960-1964.

3 First figure – calories per person.

Second figure - protein grammes per person.

4 Percentage change per person in food production since 1939 ( – means decrease)

5 First figure – acres of land cultivated per person in acres. Second figure – fertilizer used in tons per thousand persons.

6 Percentage of land which could be cultivated which is now cultivated.

7 Gross national product per person (US \$ 1968)

8 Rate of increase of Gross National Product per person per year %.

9 Fuel reserves. First figure – coal in thousands of tons per person. Second figure – oil in barrels per person.



enough. India is by comparison very badly off, it has few natural resources, with little scope for expansion of agriculture and its rate of economic growth is far too low. To this very rough picture must be added the gross waste of natural resources and even heavier pollution within the U.S.A. It is clear also that population density and rate of growth must be considered within the vastly different background in each area. The U.S.S.R. *provided it continues and increases its measures on preservation of the environment and pollution control* can by itself support a larger population.

In itself the population level of the U.S.A. is not excessive. But capitalism's gross inefficiency and imperialism's plunder of other people's natural resources cannot be tolerated. It is clear that the mode of production in America to-day is incapable of supporting the number of people in America without the forced support of the rest of the 'Free' world. The African continent is by comparison depopulated. The continent has not yet recovered from the slave trade, and rapid scientific, controlled and planned expansion of the economy is urgent. South Africa, the most highly industrialised country in Africa, is following the example of the United States and this must be changed so that it follows the example of the U.S.S.R. Every African patriot can be won to this view. In central and north Africa industrialisation is lagging and the economy is still largely subsistence and agricultural. To apply a policy of reducing population to lower levels is ill-researched and ill-conceived. Expansion and development of the continent's natural resources is required. The methods of doing this must be formulated by the people themselves, but the examples of many republics of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries should form the basis of their planning.

India's problems are serious, available resources are low, economic expansion is slow, and the population is increasing rapidly. The country is mainly agricultural with a large peasant population, and the economy cannot be well planned while large capitalists enterprises are allowed to run rife. The solution to this problem needs a many-sided approach with mass participation of the people and leadership by the organised working class, the Communist Party and its allies. The level of population must be suited to the mode of production. This can only be done by careful political, economic, scientific and cultural planning and discussion. A crude, narrow campaign to pressurise women into having

less children and into using unsatisfactory contraceptives will ultimately do more harm than good.

The heart of the problem of the third world is that the imperialist powers have long outstripped the resources of their own lands and have left a legacy of overpopulation and under-development in some areas such as India. In others they have left a legacy of depopulation and underdevelopment such as in parts of Africa. Of the industrialised nations only the socialist countries are not dependent on robbery of the third world, and are contributing to its true development. The world must demand that the imperialist powers reverse the flow and start using their vast productive capacity to repay their debts to the third world.

There is no reason for complacency. The problem of world pollution, scarcity of resources and population numbers being ill-adjusted to the mode of production in certain areas is very serious. But like all problems they can be solved by united, intelligent, mass action.

1. Capitalism and imperialism must be destroyed.
2. This can be done by mass action against the monopoly companies which are the worst causes of pollution and wasters of natural resources. In so doing allies from all sections of our society can be mobilised.
3. The third world must demand its rights to the fruits of the earth.
4. The socialist countries must continue to show that progress and happiness is possible without pollution, waste and crisis. They too have problems and their victories will not blind them or the world to the new tasks still to be accomplished.
5. The world's scientists have a particular responsibility and must act not as apologists for the capitalist system but as true scientists seeking the truth without fear of favour. We Marxists are confident that in so doing they will join our ranks.



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# **IRELAND: case-history of colonialism**

by Alan Doyle

The long-drawn crisis in Northern Ireland has served to focus world attention on this moribund relic of the late British Empire. Much of the comment tends to deal with what is erroneously called 'the Ulster problem' as if this 'problem' were or could be separated from the rest of Ireland — the twenty-six counties of the Republic — and the whole of Irish history and Anglo-Irish relations. In fact it is impossible to disentangle the present situation in the North without some understanding of the eight hundred years of colonialism which preceded it. Ireland was England's first colony. Its unfortunate people have experienced practically every known variety of the fruits of conquest, dispossession, ruination, national and religious oppression and discrimination.

Ireland has been a veritable laboratory and testing-ground of techniques of colonialist domination. Its valiant people have fought with almost unparalleled determination, generation after generation and century after century, risen and been brutally suppressed, risen again and been suppressed again, utilising every known form of resistance and creatively inventing new ones — the very word 'boycott' comes from Ireland's history of struggle.

This history should be of fascinating interest to Africans and others confronted with the continuing struggle for national emancipation. Even in the past fifty years we have seen this small island made a pioneer example of neo-colonialism (as it exists in the nominally



independent Republic) of partition (as subsequently successfully implemented in India and elsewhere) with the arbitrary annexation of part of Irish territory to the United Kingdom.

Of course it is beyond the scope of an article such as this to give even an outline of this story from the invasion of Ireland by King Henry II of England (1171–72), almost exactly 800 years ago, to the present day. I have added a list of books which would help readers to follow it for themselves. What is perhaps most striking about it is the stubbornness with which the Irish people defended their independence, their way of life, their religion and (for many centuries) their language; and the ferocity and racialism, paralleled only in 'non-European' colonies, with which the English ruling classes set out to subdue and even at times even to exterminate them.

One of the main objects of the earliest invasions was to force the Irish to adopt the feudal system in place of the early communism (land being held in common by the clan or tribe) which was the basis of their society. As James Connolly, brilliant Irish Marxist, pointed out:

... coming as it did in obedience to the pressure of armed force from without, instead of by the operation of economic forces within, this change has been bitterly and justly resented by the Irish people.

*Labour in Irish History*

Though they had the support of the Roman Church and the Irish clergy, the invaders were tenaciously resisted by the people. P. Berresford Ellis, a modern commentator, correctly observes that 'if the Irish Hierarchy . . . had thought the feudalisation of Ireland was going to be an easy process through the Anglo-Norman invasion they were disappointed. It took five centuries to destroy Irish society'. (*A History of the Irish Working Class*.)

## UPRISINGS AND SUPPRESSION

Practically the whole of subsequent Irish history consists — whatever various forms were assumed — of uprisings and wars of liberation by the people of Ireland; wars by the English ruling classes to subdue, suppress, Anglicise and dispossess them.

One of the most dreadful massacres in this long and bloody chronicle

took place in the years 1649–1653, during the invasion of the country by Oliver Cromwell, leader of the English bourgeois-democratic revolution. Of a total estimated Irish population of 1½ million more than half died in massacres, famine and plague. A further 100,000 were sold as slaves in the West Indies and other colonies. To this day Cromwell's name – whatever his significance may be in Britain – is remembered only with hatred across the Irish sea. Karl Marx made the profound comment – a clue to much of his thinking on the Irish and thence the entire national and colonial question:

By engaging in the conquest of Ireland Cromwell threw the English Republic out of the window.

*(Ireland and the Irish Question. Marx and Engels. p. 128.)*

To vicious anti-Irish racialism, the Cromwellians added religious bigotry. It was decreed that the surviving Irish Catholics (who clung tenaciously to their traditional religion) were to be driven into the least fertile of the four ancient Provinces (Connaught.) The remaining three (Ulster, Munster and Leinster) were to be allocated to Cromwell's soldiers and other British protestant settlers. This horrific 'final solution' to the 'Irish question' did not work. The natives took to the hills, formed guerilla bands and harrassed the settlers. Many of the settlers themselves married Irishwomen and became assimilated. It was noted that 'many of the children of Oliver's soldiers in Ireland cannot speak one word of English'.

Thus, despite the British laws confining them to the province of Connaught, over a period of time the indigenous people made their way back to their ancestral lands, in the eloquent words of James Connolly, 'by one of those silent movements of which the superficial historians takes no account, the proscribed people were once more back from the province into which they had been hunted; heartbroken and subdued, it is true, but nevertheless back upon their own lands'.

Even in the northern Province of Ulster, where settlement by English and Scottish protestants had been most effective, that settlement was confined to the more fertile areas, and the owners were prepared to rent the otherwise worthless areas to Catholics, law or no law. 'Thus,' continues Connolly:

in Ulster the Celt returned to his ancient tribelands, but to its hills and stony fastnesses from which with tear-dimmed eye he could look down upon the fertile plains of his fathers which he could never



again hope to occupy, even on sufferance.

*The Re-Conquest of Ireland*

### RELIGIOUS APARTHEID

As I have indicated, Ireland was a veritable laboratory of techniques for British imperialism. Few devices which were later to be employed to such good effect in Africa and Asia are without their prototypes in this 'most distressful country'. As they divided and ruled Moslem and Hindu in India, so with striking effect, they divided Protestant and Catholic in Ireland; creating out of the former a privileged minority which enjoyed a monopoly of economic opportunities and political rights, and which owing its continuance as the dominant group (the 'ascendancy') to foreign rule could always be relied on to support union with Britain, however disastrous this might be for Ireland.

The small Protestant minority defended its right to ascendancy with as blatant an arrogance as ever did a Verwoerd or Vorster the divine principle of white supremacy. Here, for example is a definition (1792) of 'Protestant ascendancy' adopted by the Dublin Corporation (for which, needless to add, Catholics could not vote):

A Protestant King of Ireland; a Protestant Parliament; a Protestant hierarchy; Protestant electors and Government; the Benches of Justice, the Army and the Revenue, through all their branches and details, Protestant; and this system supported by a connection with the Protestant realm of England.

(cited in *Theobald Wolfe Tone* by Frank MacDermot, p. 87.)

By this it should not be understood that all Irish protestants supported and identified themselves with British rule and all its excesses and brutalities. Dean Swift, among the greatest satirists and writers ever, passionately defended the Irish people. Wolfe Tone, subject of the biography I have just cited, ardent fighter for Catholic rights and virtually the founder of Irish Republicanism, was himself a Protestant. Often and eloquently it has been pointed out that the true interest of the Protestant working people of Northern Ireland lay in unity with their fellow-Irish against British domination; and there have been times in history when they have understood this and acted accordingly. Unfortunately this can hardly be said of modern times, with few exceptions.

## IRELAND AND MARXISM

The subject of Ireland is one of particular interest to students and upholders of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism. Both Marx and Engels, living and working in England at a time of a new upsurge of Irish national uprising – The Fenian movement – were deeply absorbed by, indeed a sense, involved in that movement. Engels expended prodigious energy and much time on the preparatory work for his projected *History of Ireland*; only the most urgent crisis arising within the international communist movement interrupted his researches. His extensive notes for this project, recently published in the anthology *Ireland and the Irish Question* (see the reading list appended) show that the world thereby lost a major work of a genius.

Karl Marx, too, made detailed studies of the effects of English colonialism upon Ireland in the course of his work on *Capital* and other writings. The Act of Union (1801) which abolished the Irish Parliament meant that the British bourgeoisie now had – and used – the opportunity completely to stifle the development of Irish industry which it saw as a competitor. This placed the Irish in a position of complete dependence on agriculture – in effect at the mercy of mainly absentee (English) rack-renting landlords. ‘The people had before them’, wrote, Marx, ‘the choice between the occupation of land, *at any rent, or starvation*’. The situation culminated in the appalling famine – the worst of many such – of 1845 and 1846. Potato blight struck at the people’s staple diet – while the landlords continued to export grain. Of a total Irish population of less than 6 million, two million starved to death or were compelled to emigrate to America.

Marx was a tireless defender of the rights of the Fenians and other Irish freedom-fighters against the appalling brutalities inflicted against them in English jails. Time and again he called upon the General Council of the First International (the International Working-men’s Association) to protest – often, regrettably against the opposition of some of the English trade union leaders.

He did not only regard this as a humanitarian duty in the tradition of working class internationalism and solidarity; for Marx, increasingly, the national liberation of Ireland was seen as the *condition* for the advance and victory of the British workers themselves.

The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor



who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he feels himself a member of the *ruling nation* and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists of his country *against Ireland*, thus strengthening their domination *over himself*. He cherishes religious, social and national prejudices against the Irish worker.

Directly comparing this attitude with that of the 'poor whites' to Black workers in the U.S.A., Marx continues, in this fascinating letter to colleagues in America (op. cit. p. 294) to declare it the duty of the Central Council in London to

Awaken a consciousness in the English workers that *for them* the *national emancipation of Ireland* is no question of abstract justice or to humanitarian sentiment but the *first condition of their own social emancipation*. (All emphases in the extracts are in the original A.D.)

The views of Marx and Engels on Ireland were derived not only from a theoretical analysis of the economics and history of that country, but also from their practical experience of the tenacity, unconquerable spirit and devotion of the national liberation movement which had persisted over so many centuries — a spirit for which they both repeatedly expressed profound admiration. Referring to the huge 'private army' of 200,000 men who reportedly accompanied the demagogic leader Daniel O'Connell on his tour of public meetings in Ireland, Engels exclaimed: 'Give me two hundred thousand Irishmen and I could overthrow the entire British monarchy!'

This practical experience led Marx to revise his original estimate of priorities in the struggle in a manner which had (and has) far-reaching implications for the entire Communist and national liberation movements.

Noting this evolution in Marx's thinking, Lenin pointed out:

At first Marx thought that Ireland would not be liberated by the national movement of the oppressed nation, but by the working class movement of the oppressor nation . . . However, it so happened that the English working class fell under the influence of the liberals and by adopting a liberal-labour policy left itself leaderless. The bourgeois liberation movement in Ireland grew stronger and assumed revolutionary forms. Marx reconsidered his view and corrected it.

'What a misfortune it is for a nation to have subjugated another.' The English working class will never be free until Ireland is freed from the English yoke.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 440)

Remembering Lenin's own gigantic contribution to the Marxist approach to the national liberation movement of oppressed peoples — as a major constituent part of the world revolutionary process, not merely a passive beneficiary of that process — one cannot but be struck by the remarkable continuity and development implicit in the revolutionary, creative character of Communism.

### CONNOLLY AND THE 1916 RISING

It is surely no accident that one of Lenin's foremost contemporaries, especially in the field of the application of Marxism to the national liberation struggle was an Irishman, James Connolly (1868–1916), whose biography has been absorbingly written by Desmond Greaves in *The Life and Times of James Connolly*.

The limitations of this article preclude even a cursory survey of the contribution of this outstanding revolutionary, whose memory deserves greater recognition in the international working class movement — as it indeed does in Ireland itself where, although he is recognised a national hero and a founding father of the Republic, his ideas are largely disregarded.

Connolly will never be forgotten for the crucial part he played in the Easter Rising against British imperialism in Dublin in 1916. At the head of the Irish Citizen Army, a working class, socialist military organisation (originally formed to protect strikers against employers' and state violence) he joined forces with left republican forces. The revolutionaries occupied the General Post Office in Dublin's main street, and proclaimed the Irish Republic as a sovereign independent state. 'We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destiny, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished that right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people.'

The rebellion — coming only a year before the victorious Russian



Revolution — was savagely suppressed. The leaders, having been compelled by overwhelming force to surrender, were summarily executed. Connolly had been seriously wounded in the fighting; he was carried in a stretcher, seated in a chair and shot.

Connolly's participation in the national uprising was little appreciated by his comrades of the labour and socialist movement outside Ireland — an outcome he anticipated. 'They will never understand why I am here' he told his daughter while under arrest two days before his execution. 'They will all forget I am an Irishman'.

To a large extent this gloomy prophecy was confirmed by events. With some notable exception the rising was described even by the Left as a 'putsch' and Connolly himself criticised for marching not under the red but the green national flag. Among the notable exceptions was V. I. Lenin, who angrily condemned the 'philistinism' of the 'critics', hailed the appearance of the 'flames of national revolt' and regretted only the 'misfortune of the Irish' that they had risen 'when the European revolt of the proletariat had not yet matured.'

### **BRITAIN RETREATS**

Although the 1916 rebellion did not succeed in its immediate objective, it aroused a new wave of revolutionary resistance which made it impossible for Britain to continue governing Ireland in the old way. The British ruling classes did their best to retain control by force — as in the notorious 'black-and-tan' repression which were unleashed after the first world war. Compelled to concede a measure of self-government they did so as grudgingly as possible on the 'instalment plan' or 'never-never'. An 'Irish Free State' within the British Commonwealth was proposed: the split over whether to accept this or not led to a bitter internal civil war.

Worst of all, the British imposed partition on the Irish nation. The fires of religious fanaticism were busily stoked up in those ideas of the northern province of Ulster which are still predominantly populated by Protestant descendants of the earlier settlement. These people were told that they would suffer religious discrimination under an all-Irish Republic (it is not true: indeed the first president of the Republic was a Protestant, Dr. Douglas Hyde). The Pro-British northern bourgeoisie, organised publicly in the Unionist Party and secretly in 'Orange

Lodges', incited hatred and pogroms against Catholics.

On the pretext that they were thereby upholding the principles of self-determination (principles which they had never observed in any of their territories) the English bourgeoisie arbitrarily lopped off six parts of the province of Ulster and incorporated it in the United Kingdom. (The traditional province as it existed for centuries had nine counties. But, to ensure a protestant and unionist majority three of these with predominantly catholic populations were excluded. That is why Irishmen object to calling the artificial entity made up of the remaining six counties 'Ulster'.)

Thus in its 'enforced retreat' from direct rule over the whole of Ireland, British imperialism has retained direct rule over the most industrialised section of the island – the north. It has also handed over the destinies of the substantial Catholic and anti-unionist population in Northern Ireland to the tender mercies of what has shown itself among the most bigoted and reactionary tyrannies in the modern world.

For fifty years, until its operations were suspended recently following much bitter and still-continuing violence, local government in the six counties was conducted by a so-called Parliament operating from Stormont Castle in Belfast (hence, the 'Stormont Parliament', or just 'Stormont'.) Its 'independence' of Westminster was fictional rather than real – it was entirely subordinate to London; the entire 'statelet' was only kept going by massive subsidies from the British taxpayers, recently estimated by Edward Heath at £200 million a year. Nevertheless in its internal administration it was essentially a brutal police state and an engine for naked oppression and discrimination against the anti-unionist section of the population. We South Africans remember that when he was seeking for arguments to support his Suppression of Communism Act (1950), the foundation of South African fascism, C. R. Swart quoted the precedent of Stormont's 'Special Powers Act'. The Northern Ireland police, with its 'B. Specials' was as notorious as the Gestapo.

What of the other side of the border, the twenty-six counties which make up the Republic of Ireland?

Alas, it has become a classic example of neo-colonialism. In 1897 James Connolly prophesied:

If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the



Socialist Republic, your efforts would be in vain. England would still rule you. She would rule you through her capitalists, through her landlords, through her financiers, through her whole host of commercial and individualists institutions she has placed in this country.

To a tragically large measure that gloomy prophecy has been fulfilled. Though Connolly's message is still propagated and upheld by the Communist Party of Ireland, and to a large measure by the official Irish Republican Army, the country as a whole is a prey to bourgeois politicians who have led it into a state of dependence upon British and western imperialism. It has been estimated that nearly two-thirds of Irish business, land and capital are foreign-owned. And the latest panacea of Irish capitalism, entry into the European Common Market, is bound to increase rather than lessen that dependency.

### **CIVIL RIGHTS OR CIVIL WAR**

To a large extent the present crisis in Northern Ireland has been brought to a head as a result of the bold initiatives of the Civil Rights Association started in 1968. A broad united front, in which both Catholics and Protestants participated, it was fully backed by the revolutionary working class movement, the secretary being Betty Sinclair, secretary of the Belfast Trades Council and a leading member of the Communist Party of Ireland.

The CRA demands one man one vote (instead of the property qualifications for voters which hitherto guaranteed Unionist control), equal rights in jobs, housing etc., and an end to the Special Powers Act, the 'B. Special' police and other instruments of oppression.

The effects were far beyond what the initiators had perhaps at first envisaged. The oppressed Catholic masses were ready for militant action. They turned many of their residential areas into islands and fortresses of resistance (the 'no-go areas'; boycotted rates and rents; came out into the streets in mass demonstrations. The people armed themselves for resistance to suppression and extremist Unionist terror incited by right-wing fanatics like William Craig and Rev. Ian Paisley. Both wings of the I.R.A moved into action.

The despatch of large contingents of British troops added, as might be expected, to the violence. The people of all parts of Africa which

formed a part of the British Empire are only too well aware of the arrival of such troops sent nominally to 'restore order' succeeds only in provoking massive bloodshed and disorder. British troops open fire on anti-Unionist demonstrators at Derry on January 30, 1972 and many unarmed people lost their lives — the worst but not the only such incident. Bomb explosions, street fighting and violence have been the daily experience of the people of Belfast and other Northern areas ever since the British troops arrived.

The Stormont Parliament has now been suspended. Britain has now imposed 'direct rule' with Mr. William Whitelaw as the one-man government to 'deal with' the situation. But bloody repression remains the rule. There will be no end to violent resistance while its cause — the internment of democrats and patriots and the threat of British terror are still in operation. Ultra-right pogrom-groups are openly arming, threatening a U.D.I. à la Ian Smith and a coup d'état. The tide of anger and indignation is steadily mounting south of the border. Ireland is drifting towards civil war.

The Communist Party of Ireland, the only political party to exist on an all-Ireland scale both north and south of the border, is demanding in common with the Irish Republican Army and other democratic strata, an immediate end to internment and the activities of the British Army; a Bill of Rights to ensure the equality of the anti-Unionist minority in the North; unity of the Irish working class. No doubt the implementation of such measures will go far to alleviate the present crisis.

However it is painfully clear that no stable long-term solution can be found within the framework of the arrangement imposed upon the country fifty years ago. Ultimately there can be no peace and progress in a small country torn asunder of which one province is occupied and administered by a foreign power.

That is not to say that there is at present any realistic possibility



of incorporating the six countries into the Republic of Ireland under its present leadership. Nothing is further from the minds of the Dublin administration headed by Mr. Jack Lynch and his Fianna Fail party than a confrontation with the United Kingdom. They are falling over backwards to accomodate the British Tory government, and to stifle militant republicanism.

The arrest of the Republican leader, Sean Mac Steofoin was followed by ferociously undemocratic legislation, well described by the leader of the opposition as 'of the type we have come to expect only from South Africa.' (Having said which he and his Party then tamely turned tail, in the manner of Sir de Villiers Graaff, and voted for this Vorster-type legislation!)

It is not then to the present leaders in the Dail (Parliament) in Dublin that we should look to revive the grand tradition of struggle or the Easter Rising of 1916. In their drive to secure, at all costs, bourgeois respectability, they would prefer to forget and bury that tradition.

But advanced and patriotic elements in all parts of the country are more and more seeing the question as an all-Ireland one in which James Connolly's vision must prevail. In struggling to attain that vision the heroic and long-suffering people of Ireland should seek, and certainly deserve, the solidarity and support of all the anti-imperialist forces of the world.

## A SHORT READING LIST

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Lawrence and Wishart, 1971 (518 pages.)

Frank MacDermot: *Tehobald Wolfe Tone*, Anvil Books 1968. (306 pages. 40p.)

C. Desmond Greaves: *The Life and Times of James Connolly*, Lawrence & Wishart, 1972 (448 pages. £1.)

C. Desmond Greaves: *The Irish Crisis*, Lawrence & Wishart 1972 (222 pages. £1.)

P. Beresford Ellis; *A History of the Irish Working Class*, Victor Gollancz, 1972. (352 pages, £3.50)

# **BLACK AMERICANS IN AFRICA a critical view**

by J. K. OBATALA

As the balance of power shifts against the United States in Asia, and the struggle against American domination of Latin America intensifies, Africa is destined to become a major theatre of U.S. economic, political and military activity. And since 12 to 15 per cent of the American population is of African descent, it is only to be expected that the role played by Afro-Americans will be a vital factor in determining the ultimate outcome of the already developing struggle between U.S. imperialism and the forces of African liberation.

It is of great urgency, therefore, that writers, scholars and intellectuals on the left — of whatever colour — began to examine more seriously the political implications of increased contact between Africans and Afro-Americans. For while it has been heretofore assumed on the part of many writers and intellectuals that the strengthening of ties between Africans and their New World descendants was a desirable end, a closer look at the Afro-American in Africa leads one to the inescapable conclusion that certain of these ties are, in effect, chains which are helping to bind both Africans and Afro-Americans to the stake of continued economic exploitation and political oppression.

A major reason for this unfortunate development is that, at least a majority of the Afro-Americans who travel to Africa, do so completely unaware of the various forces which will inevitably affect their relations with Africans. They arrive with such abstract, sentimentalist notions as 'blackness' and 'brotherhood' and after weeks and months of wining



and dining with the African elite, many blacks from this country are still not conscious of the fact that race or 'blackness' — to use the idiom of the Afro-American bourgeoisie — has actually had very little to do with the shaping of their relationship with Africans.

The explanation for this state of affairs lay largely in the fact that the Afro-American, especially the black bourgeoisie, is suffering from racial and social frustration. Having been rejected by white society in the fifties and early sixties, many black people in this country turned to Africa for racial identity. Yet it was the abstract Africa, the 'cultural', 'racial' and 'historical' Africa with which was identified, and not the Africa of people and problems and politics into which we descended from the Boeing aircrafts that brought so many of us to the 'homeland' in the late sixties and early seventies. One might even say that, in the final analysis, it was not Africa at all that we expected to find awaiting us in the 'homeland' but rather, the missing links to Afro-America: *racial identity* and *social acceptance*. For many of us, therefore, our understanding of and concern with the realities, the actual conditions which existed in Africa was minimal. We saw and experienced what we needed to see and experience and when reality finally succeeded in thrusting itself into our consciousness, we either ignored it altogether, embraced it blindly (which amounts to the same thing) or ran away from it. Often confusion and frustration resulted.

I can recall, for example, that during the first quarter break of the school year I spent at the University of Ghana, a well-to-do African invited all Afro-Americans on campus to a party. For some reason, I was not able to attend. However, on the following day I talked with an Afro-American friend of mine from a small college in the mid-West who was absolutely furious and disgusted over the whole affair. It appears that, with the exception of a few other Afro-Americans and some Africans, practically everyone else at the party consisted of white American students!

What neither of us understood at that time was that while for us, the fact that an African had invited us to a party had racial as well as social significance, (this together with the fact that none of us had come all the way to Africa to party with white liberals!) the African viewed the situation somewhat differently. For him, having Americans — of whatever colour — come to this party was a social affair to the <sup>n</sup><sup>th</sup> degree and had nothing to do with race. This, of course, is not to

say that all Africans see matters in this manner. But the fact that we, as 'black nationalist' were not prepared to accept or to try and understand one who did, simply illustrates the extent to which we were concerned with our own needs and not those of the African.

It has been two years now since I was in Africa; but there is little reason to believe that the situation has changed. Most Afro-Americans who go there are still probably from the black 'middle class' and no doubt still enjoy much of the prestige and social prominence that we did two years ago.

The social prominence of the Afro-American in Africa has some interesting side effects. On the one hand, many Africans look upon us as 'success models', i.e. as examples of black people who have made it in a big way. Thus in Ghana, the Afro-American — like the white man — is referred to as 'big man' and 'master' by taxi drivers, porters and other people from the lower economic strata. Indeed, we are expected to live up to all the myths and stereotypes which the African has inherited from the various propaganda media and from Africans returning from the U.S. The result is that I found it almost impossible to convince many Africans that Afro-Americans don't have money dropping out of all their open parts. Like whites, therefore, we are almost never charged the normal price for anything; and when we protest being cheated, the response of the African is "All you Americans are alike!"

On the other hand, as the number of Afro-Americans in Africa increase, our prestige will no doubt decline. For even now, there are a growing number of socially-conscious Africans who view the Afro-American presence as a threat. These are mostly Africans who are scrambling to get to the top of the social ladder themselves, people who are insecure and — like the so-called 'middle American' — strict and conservative in their moves. Yet the Afro-American is loud, aggressive and may go out in a 'T' shirt or a sports jacket while, at the same time, he still has access to women from practically all strata of African society and can usually gain admission to places where the 'up and coming' African — the social climber — cannot (except on special invitation).

Nevertheless, the Afro-American, if for no other reason than the fact that he is taken by most Africans to be an American *of sorts*, will probably continue to enjoy access to certain social circles within the ranks of the African bourgeoisie. And it is at this point that the *social*



*activities* of the Afro-American in Africa attains political dimensions. For the African bourgeoisie, while socially receptive to Afro-Americans, is, in most instances conservative and reactionary. Indeed, the African bourgeoisie has implicitly renounced the very social principles — equal opportunity, upward mobility, redistribution of wealth and income and justice for all before the law — that have become basic planks in the philosophical platform of the Afro-American struggle.

Yet the Afro-American, his political sense dulled by racial friction between whites and blacks in the U.S., remains totally impervious to the broader implications of his social and racial-sentimentalist approach to Africa. Smarting under the intellectual effects of such notions as 'blackness', 'Negritude' and 'cultural nationalism', the Afro-American nationalist-cum-tourist not only fails to realise that all Africans aren't his brothers, but is also seldom able to carry his political analysis beyond an occasional broadside against the physical presence of whites and the submissiveness of Africans to Europeans and Americans. He often curses what he sees as 'white exploitation' in Africa and, almost in the same breath, glorifies the feudal slavery of the Islamic interior and the paganistic despotism of the coastal chiefs.

During the time I spent in Africa, I noticed that some Afro-Americans would support the most oppressive regimes if they gave lip service to 'blackness' or 'Negritude' or expressed interests in 'preserving traditional African culture'. Without citing names, I think some examples might prove instructive: A young Afro-American woman had been a member of the Black Student Union at a major college in Southern California expressed support for human sacrifice in Nigeria and showed faint disgust with me over my having written and published an article which was critical of the reactionary regime of Dr. K.A. Busia of Ghana. This attitude, I am quite certain, can at least be partially explained by the fact that this particular person had developed close and extensive social ties within the conservative African bourgeoisie both in Ghana and in the Yoruba-dominated Western State of Nigeria. Similarly, another Afro-American woman, when I asked her to compare Ghana and Nigeria, said she thought Ghana (then under the Busia regime) was more 'together' than Nigeria because the former was 'more traditional'. This particular tourist was a black nationalist educator (at a college in New York) and a poetess whose work, according to her, was to appear in a volume edited by Nikki Giovanni. In the mean time, she seemed

indifferent to, or otherwise unaware of the fact that, in terms of the destiny of Africa and of black people all over the world, Nigeria is not only more important than Ghana, but — at that time anyway — it was also more ‘together’ than the latter in the sense that Nigeria emerged from its recent civil war in a much more militant mood than Ghana had seen since the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah in 1966.

However, a travelling companion of this same black nationalist educator did shed a little light on the matter when she explained that the two of them had just left Ghana where they had visited the Ashanti Region and witnessed the colourful public ceremonies accompanying the enstoolment of a new Asantehene (King). She confided to me that they were, in her words, ‘fascinated’ by what she referred to as ‘all that ‘blackness’! It was apparently of little significance to either of them that ‘all that blackness’ (meaning the Ashanti royal hierarchy) had probably been secretly beheading innocent people during the preceeding funeral celebrations. Neither did it seem to matter that it was the Ashanti royalists and their right wing in Ghana and abroad that swept away the most politically and socially progressive regime in Africa and the only one to make an uncompromising stand on the treatment of black people in the United States. If either of these two young ladies had been one of the parents of the children turned away from the doors of Ghanaian schools after the Ashanti-led *coup* of 1966 or one of the wives of the 300,000 workers that was deliberately put out of work by the NLC, I am certain that she would have been somewhat less ‘fascinated’ by ‘all that blackness’ of the Ashanti royal hierarchy!

The tendency on the part of the Afro-American in Africa to support practices and policies of Africans and their rulers that he would not want, and in many instances, has already categorically rejected for himself here in the U.S., points to another very interesting aspect of the black American political and cultural attitude that could have some serious consequences for the political future of Africa: the Afro-American, especially the middle class Afro-American is a liberal *par excellence*, even to the point of taking a paternalistic posture towards the African and his culture. And, strangely enough, this holds especially true in the case of some nationalists ‘cultural nationalist’ in particular. In the African setting, the latter tend to assume more of the identity of their would-be enemy than the black integrationist (a reflection perhaps of the often forgotten fact that it is the white liberal who is



the mentor of them both). For example, when I was in Africa, I talked with several Afro-Americans who described themselves as 'nationalist' and who were firm believers in the liberal notion of 'non-alignment' as well as its logical derivatives, 'African Socialism' and the 'Third World' concept. Others were adamant and assertive on the question of 'preserving' Africa's traditional culture.

Significantly, it is on the question of African 'traditional culture' that the ambivalent and often Janus-faced outlook of many Afro-Americans become most salient. Close observation of the Afro-American in Africa will show that, if indeed he is interested in 'preserving' traditional African culture, it is mainly for the illiterate and backward Africans who are still encapsuled in it: *and not for himself*. The Afro-American may romanticise the culture of the countryside from a distance, but except for an occasional bowl of *fufu* at a friend's house or maybe even a short visit to the bush, most Afro-Americans keep a good safe distance from 'traditional culture'. Indeed, the vast majority of them, 'nationalists' included, reside and spend the bulk of their time in an urban or university setting where they can rub shoulders freely with their African counterpart. Thus in Nigeria, Afro-American women can be seen with Ibos more than with any other Nigerians because Ibos are not only the most pro-American in their political posture, but they are also the most westernised group in the country.

An Afro-American in Lagos who was visiting West Africa for the second time and who defined himself as a 'cultural nationalist' offered a rather interesting rationalisation as to why he preferred the life of the city to that of the bush, *even though* he thought bush culture should be *preserved in its present form*: 'The culture is the people', he said, 'and all the people are drifting to the cities!' Now, admittedly the city is the centre of a population implosion: but I think even a casual drive through the countryside will bear out the contention that Africa does have at least a few more days left as basically a *continent of peasants and small town dwellers!* The truth of the matter is that in the rural areas where traditional culture is based, there is a noticeable deficiency of certain things which make up a very important part of the 'traditional culture' of the Afro-American: running water, inside toilets, gas, electric lights, jazz, night clubs, soft beds, etc.; and it is this factor which accounts, to a great extent, for the sometimes amusing dualism of the Afro-American nationalist.

However, another more important factor is the naivety and downright political backwardness of many Afro-Americans in a situation where race is of relatively minor importance. Most of them fail to realise, for instance that the slogan 'preserve Africa's traditional culture' is used for a reactionary purpose. In effect it means 'preserve the power of the chiefs'. This slogan, especially popular within certain sectors of the West African bourgeoisie, is the political calling card of the so-called 'African traditionalist' (cultural nationalist) movement which is a disguise for anti-socialist reaction. This should not be taken lightly in view of the fact that the American government is pushing the 'cultural' approach to Africa among scholars, intellectuals and students; many of the most politically active Afro-Americans also take the cultural approach to African and Afro-American relations. The inherent danger is this — as far as the African liberation movement is concerned — lie in the fact that most of the increasing number of Afro-Americans who are coming into contact with Africa seems not to grasp the political implications of the fact that, except for a short period of so-called 'resistance' from roughly the 1870's to the turn of the century, the chiefs have been the closest allies of Arab and European imperialism for over five hundred years: *and the institution of chieftancy is the nucleus around which traditional African culture is centred*. Moreover, we must not forget that 'big business' for Africa has, historically, been based on revenues from trading and mining and that it was largely the African chiefs and their royal entourages who have benefited from these revenues throughout the ages; the African people certainly have not. This is as true today in the case of mining concessions granted to western firms as it was in the case of the slave trade in which chiefs used their religious hold over the minds of the people in the interest of imperialism and the African royal hierarchies. Only today, there are two classes of 'chiefs': the religious and/or traditional rulers and the modern politicians.

And this is what tends to confuse most Afro-Americans who go to Africa: because there is *a cultural difference* between the traditional rulers and the modern African, Afro-Americans assume that there is *necessarily* a *political* difference and are thus sitting ducks for the propaganda of such writers as Wole Soyinka of Nigeria, who seek to perpetuate the myth that the primary conflict in Africa is between the modern, westernized African and the traditional rulers. The Afro-



American in Africa, blinded by emotionalism and pre-occupied with his own social needs, fails to see that this is a hoax; that the cultural differences are only superficial and that the 'traditional rulers' and the westernized Africans are, for the most part, one political entity. What has happened is that, whereas in the old days, the traditional rulers could use the revenues from the slaves they sold as they wished, today they must share the take from mining and oil concessions with the politicians, who get by far the lion's share.

But the chiefs are not at all unhappy with this new state of affairs. For with heavily armed U.S. and European backed right-wing regimes in power, their job is rather easy: preside over the affairs of the backward and ignorant bush dwellers and villagers who have been *deliberately* kept outside the sphere of modern learning by their elitist 'brothers' in the city; keep the oppressed masses worshipping their traditional Gods and performing their ancient rituals so that they will not begin to trouble themselves (and others) over things which obviously do not concern them — things such as a higher standard of living, education for their children, a modern home, paved roads, a more nutritious diet, more and better medical and dental care, a modern transportation system and (alas! may the Gods forbid!) a more equitable distribution of the national income! For the truth of the matter is that not a single neo-colonial regime in Africa could escape the wrath of the people if the latter should ever begin to raise these kinds of questions. Indeed, the African bourgeoisie realizes, if the Afro-American does not, that if the African masses are permitted to develop habits of analytical thought — i.e., if they ever begin to think in terms of modern materialist rather than outmoded ethno-religious constructs — these are precisely the questions that Africa's peasants and semi-literate urban dwellers will begin to raise: *and therein lies the real meaning of the slogan 'preserve Africa's traditional culture'* as used by them. The mind of the masses must forever be bound by ignorance, religion and superstition! They must forever be loyal to the elders, chiefs, linguists and herbalists who are, in turn, the political pawns of the reactionary and corrupt neo-colonial states that have emerged in Africa following 'independence'.

But the Afro-American who goes to Africa is pre-occupied with his own social and psychological needs and not those of the African people; he thus fails to see the absolute necessity for mass education, the uprooting of ignorance and superstition and the demolition of archaic

cultural institutions which serve only to imprison the will and creativity of the African people and thus retard the movement of Africa from the ancient to the modern world.

For the Afro-American, 'traditional culture' is good, not because of any objective quality it may possess, but because the white man says it is bad — because it is 'black' instead of white, because it is African and not American. It matters little to most Afro-Americans that the real African revolution, i.e., the struggle for the attainment of socialist democracy in Africa, is diametrically opposed to the preservation of 'traditional' but obsolete African institutions. The traditional rulers opposed socialist leaders such as Nkrumah and Obote because the latter had come to the realisation that the institution of chieftancy had no more business in the modern world than the stone age axe which evolved along with it. This is why scientific socialism is anathema to the traditionalist hierarchies and their intellectual and political allies in Africa and the U.S.

While I did talk to some Afro-Americans in Africa who were able to see that traditional African culture was actually being used as a powerful weapon against the people by Africa's exploiters, an uncomfortably large number could not think in these political terms. They saw the idyllic calm and contentment of the small African village and the small interior town as a meaningful alternative (for Africans of course) to the chaotic debacle of conspicuous consumption, foreign-owned enterprises, political gansterism and the scramble for social status which constitutes the essence of life in the cities: *not realising that the former situation is a primary condition of the latter*; that the calm of the countryside is an artificial clam, a case of *political ignorance* manifesting itself as social bliss! Indeed, if the people of the African countryside could ever be made to understand in political terms what is actually happening in the cities, there would be no calm anywhere in Africa until the last vestiges of imperialist exploitation had been removed; a Mercedes-Benz or a Chevrolet could no more drive through the countryside of Africa unmolested than a Ku Klux Klansman could now parade freely and safely through certain black communities in the U.S.

Yet many Afro-Americans, fascinated by the paper theory of cultural nationalism, walk headlong into the African situation and place their feet squarely upon the necks of the African people by giving moral support to the so-called African 'traditionalist' movement, in spite of



the fact that it is usually a political con game which seeks to perpetuate the enslavement of the African people. Sometimes, however, this support is more than just moral. For example, the Afro-American actor and playwright, Ossie Davis, went to Nigeria two years ago and filmed the play, *Kongi's Harvest*. The movie, which has not been widely distributed, either in Africa or this country, will be extremely harmful to the African liberation movement if it is ever circulated because it is based on a play which was designed to sabotage the image of progressive African leaders. Yet, not only did Afro-Americans and Afro-West Indians participate in the making of the film, but I talked with several Afro-Americans in Nigeria who also wished to see it widely distributed in the U.S. Some of the latter even indicated, at the same time, that Kwame Nkrumah was one of their political heroes. It is indeed a sad commentary on the prospective role of Afro-Americans in the African liberation struggle to note that these people — most of whom were members of the Congress of Racial Equality (C.O.R.E.) — could not see far enough through the traditionalist rhetoric of Wole Soyinka, the play's right-wing Nigerian author to realize that '*Kongi*' the ruthless, egotistical dictator depicted in the play is *Kwame Nkrumah*! (Ghana under Nkrumah is the only country in Africa that fitted the setting of the play in the early sixties when the manuscript was written.)

A number of things, therefore, become strikingly clear when the Afro-American is viewed in the context of the African situation. One is that the 'African consciousness' of the Afro-American, especially the black bourgeoisie, is derived, not from an objective analysis of the African situation, but is for the most part merely an emotional response to racial frustration and social alienation here at home. Most Afro-Americans thus speak loudly of 'white oppression' and 'white exploitation' but speak little, know little and, in many instances, care little about the nature of imperialism when it is divorced from its racial, i.e., domestic and localised manifestations in the American ghettos and suburbs.

On the contrary, the Afro-American in Africa turns his attention mainly to cultural and social affairs. He spends most of his time partying and fraternizing with the African bourgeoisie and makes little effort to actually find out what is happening politically, taking time out from the social scene only to make short trips through the countryside; here he visits important cultural 'shrines' and takes colour photo-

graphs of 'traditional African culture'. (If he is a part of an organized tour, he may listen to any number of formal 'lectures'; these 'lectures', however, as far as their political content is concerned, may as well have been written in the White House.)

Finally, one other observation comes to mind. Following in the intellectual path blazed by his white liberal mentor, the Afro-American, the nationalist in particular, has rejected the class for the racial interpretation of society: yet it is the social, class implications of the Afro-American having come from a super-rich country and not his race which makes it possible for him to fraternise and socialise with the middle and upper strata of the westernised African elite!!! Indeed, given the stratification and rigid social moves of African society, if most of us in this country had been born in Africa and had inherited our same relative social and economic class positions, not only would we be unable to socialise with African royalty and rub shoulders with the African bourgeoisie, but we couldn't even enter their homes unless we were cooks, maids or houseboys. We would be porters, taxi drivers and bush dwellers and would have to call them 'master' rather than 'brother'. Nor is there any rational reason to believe that our so-called 'blackness' would make any more difference in our case than it does in the case of the millions of wretched black people upon whose backs the African royal hierarchies and the bourgeoisie ride with the pride and posture of a Medieval Knight. For the truth of the matter is that, although many among the African bourgeoisie receive us 'with open arms', they do so more because — coming from America, a rich country — we are, in their estimate, social equals and not necessarily because we are black (even though they may use race as a rap).

Unless, therefore, the increasing contact between Africans and Afro-Americans is of a qualitatively different nature in years to come, we may find that, as Afro-Americans, we have played a key role in the subversion and defeat of the very African revolution to which so many of us claim to be committed. For, in the final analysis, the African bourgeoisie whom we tend to embrace so warmly, is not even the 'brother' of the African people, let alone us. Rather, the bourgeoisie in Africa is the staunch ally and supporter of U.S. imperialism: which means they are but the political arm of our own oppressor.



# **SENEGAL: for unity in action**

## **Eleven-point Programme of the African Independence Party**

Our country finds itself at a difficult turning point in its existence. The independence which was supposed to have permitted us to resolve the great problems accumulated during French colonialism has, on the contrary, blocked the road to free development.

This independence is not true national sovereignty. It has delivered our country into a new dependence — neo-colonialism, more subtle than the old direct form of domination with its 'native rights', its governors and its colonial administrators, but just as prejudicial for our people as the first form of national exploitation and oppression.

The UPS government which serves these new imperialist interests is a government of betrayal of the people.

This is the reason why Senegal has undergone a general crisis of regime for more than ten years. This crisis is at one and the same time economic, social, political, cultural and juridical. Today it affects every worker and every family in this country. Its perspectives are great and in all respects a grave threat to the whole of our people.

On the level of foreign relations national prestige declines; the foreign policy of the UPS government is at the service of international imperialism, whose interests increase in our country; it is at the service of the French imperialist government and of the European Common Market.

At the same time, the crisis has laid the basis for the conditions

for a broad union of the patriotic forces of Senegal. The slogan *Senghor Resign*, understood as the final outcome of the organised struggle of the social strata of the mass of the people, can open the way to a democratic succession to the regime, to democracy, to an independent policy for economic independence; the way to non-capitalist development and socialism.

But it is necessary to open this road through the united action of the democratic and patriotic forces of the country, by the joint efforts of all those, men and women, who are interested in changing the situation, taking into account the experience of each sector of the opposition and of the ardent demands of each social stratum and of the mass of our people.

Together we can impose this change.

That is the reason why the African Independence Party formulates the following eleven-point programme designed to ensure, within the near future, the conditions for a broad union of democratic forces, for the union of all the patriots of this country.

#### *1. For the Defence of Democracy*

- \* Restoration of the democratic rights wrested from the French colonialists by main force — the freedom of association, of meeting, of the press and of opinion;

- \* A general amnesty for detainees and convicted political prisoners, for the citizens deprived of their civil rights because of their opinions and for the political exiles, without exception.

- \* The right to legality for the political parties and democratic organisations which have been prohibited.

- \* The revision of the electoral law as a step towards the dissolution of the present Assembly, which is not truly representative of the country.

- \* A general election for Parliament.

- \* Respect for the spirit of the constitution, particularly for the rights recognised for an independent opposition.

#### *2. For the Protection of Wages and Defence of the Standard of Living of the Workers.*

- \* Struggle against unemployment, for a progressive solution to the under-employment endemic in Senegal.

- \* The restoration of trade union rights and the expansion of demo-



cratic rights for the workers; freedom of meeting, freedom for the trade unions.

- \* Raise wages commensurate with the cost of living; an end to the development tax and the 'habitation' tax.
- \* Defend women workers in industry, commerce and the administrative services.

### 3. *For Fundamental Structural Reforms in Agriculture and the Rural Areas*

- \* A national campaign for the radical reorganisation of Senegalese agriculture and a progressive reduction in the importation of cereals, for a food policy based on State marketing of the country's cereals.
- \* Revise the 'law concerning the national domain', for an agrarian reform adjusted to the specific objective conditions in Senegal.
- \* Against the exploitation of small-holders — particularly the market gardeners and against the organisation, of a capitalist type, of concessions on rural land.
- \* Participation of the peasants in fixing the price for groundnuts the main agricultural product and main export of the country.
- \* A single policy for the prices of groundnuts and cereal grain foods for the whole of the national territory, which will guarantee the vital interests of the producers and consumers.
- \* The democratic regrouping and reorganisation of co-operatives, and the granting to them of subsidies for the circulation, in sufficient quantity and at fair price, of the necessities of life in the rural areas.
- \* To develop consumers' co-operatives for production.

### 4. *National Sovereignty and Economic Independence*

- \* Revision of the law governing Senegalese nationality;
- \* The development of technical training for national cadres.
- \* An end to French military bases and the abrogation of the 'mutual defence' treaties with France.
- \* A strict taxation policy for foreign monopolies, and for the exploitation of other sources decisive for the State budget.
- \* The 'Senegalisation' of the management of enterprises on the basis of competence only.
- \* The nationalisation of the biggest enterprises of a mixed economic

character — *Sonees & Sonadis*, for example.

- \* Democratic control of prices through the participation of workers' trade unions, representatives of the peasantry and of housewives.
- \* The establishment of firm economic and technical relations with the socialist and the developing countries, and the establishment of new, mutually advantageous, relationships with the capitalist countries, based on respect for the sovereignty of each state.
- \* To revise the agreements on transport tariffs established between the national railways and foreign monopolies (Taiba phosphates, for example);
- \* To develop the national railways, the main state enterprise, in co-ordination with the main nationalised highways.
- \* To nationalise the banks, credit and assurance organisations, the principal branches of industry and export and import trade.
- \* To revise the law on investments, to ensure the re-investment of at least 50% of the profits.

5. *To Promote National Economic Elements among different Fishermen, Market Gardeners, Artisans, Small Merchants and Cattle Breeders.*

- \* Access to banking credit.
- \* Aid for material equipment.
- \* Participation of nationals in the sale of industrial products manufactured locally, and State preference to nationals in granting of administrative contracts.
- \* Assistance for equipping fishing co-operatives (motorisation, refrigeration); aid in the selling of their product and effective protection of territorial fishing waters.
- \* The free grouping of market gardeners into co-operatives and a halt to the importation of vegetables.
- \* Rationalisation of grazing grounds and protection for the vital interests of cattle farmers.
- \* Promotion of artisans and of retail trade.

6. *To Promote Public Health*

- \* To multiply hospitalism
- \* To multiply hospitals, maternity homes, dispensaries and health centres, and to equip them with material, personnel and medicines.
- \* For the most effective mass medical service, better planned and



endowed with the necessary financial resources and the support of the masses.

- \* For free medical visits and consultations, for a reduction in charges for medical examination and hospitalisation.
- \* State monopoly of the importation and distribution of pharmaceutical products, and the creation of polyclinics in the administrative regions of the country.

7. *To Defend Senegalese Education*

- \* For the democratic reform of education at all levels.
- \* To re-evaluate the function of education.
- \* For the democratisation of Dakar University, and of the system of granting bursaries.
- \* Abolition of the entrance examination for the sixth-form.
- \* Reduction in transport fares for school-children and students.
- \* Rigorous control of private education.
- \* To introduce the national languages at all levels of education.

8. *To Defend the Interest of Youth*

- \* For a better organisation and development of mass sports in Senegal; for the organisation of youth and their integration in the process of production; for the organisation of healthy and educative leisure for the youth, and their protection against the corrosive attacks of decadent Western culture.

9. *To Defend and Preserve our Cultural Inheritance, and for a Renaissance of National Culture, Authentic and Scientific*

- \* For a national literacy campaign among the masses in the national languages.
- \* For the building up of the historical and cultural stock of Senegalese society; to found a national historical museum and for a national cinema corresponding to the tasks of our economic and social development.

10. *For a Foreign Policy in Defence of Peace and for African Unity, Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Neo-Colonialist.*

- \* Mass struggle against the activities of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.
- \* To work for a policy of good neighbourliness with all bordering countries, including the Republic of Guinea,

- \* To support African liberation movements against Portuguese colonialism, apartheid and the Rhodesian regime.
- \* For the recognition of the GDR, of North Korea and of Cuba by Senegal; action to reinforce relations with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other socialist countries.
- \* Mass action for complete solidarity with the fighting people of Vietnam, for the peoples of Laos and Cambodia and for the Arab people in struggle against the Zionist State of Israel.

#### **11. *Political Method for Realising the Proposes Programme***

- \* To bring about a broad union of the patriotic forces of Senegal, in operative forms to be mutually resolved upon.

**This Action Programme is a national proposal of the African Party of Independence.**

**Our Party is ready to discuss it with all interested parties *without exception*, in the spirit of reciprocal concessions, in order to unite to achieve the programme.**

**Our country must advance. It can advance. It is the duty of all its patriotic sons to act so that it may do so.**



# **THE USSR - a great international force**

by **BORIS PONOMARYOV**

We consider that a key political task is to make sure that the upswing of the national liberation movement in all its forms and the growth of national awareness would invariably serve the interests of the struggle against imperialism and the aims of social progress and mankind's emancipation. It is important that these processes should lead not to the isolation and seclusion of the different nations and peoples but to their union, not to the weakening and disunity of the anti-imperialist forces but to their cohesion and consolidation. In this situation, as never before, increasing importance attaches to the Communists' struggle to strengthen the cohesion of all the progressive revolutionary forces, and organically to combine the national and the international tasks in the world revolutionary movement.

Comrades, facts of recent decades show that even in the industrially developed zone of capitalism some national problems seemed to have again become sharply exacerbated..

What are the reasons of this phenomenon? They are rooted in the very nature of monopoly capitalism, in its economic basis and political superstructure. Lenin criticising the leaders who underestimated the role of the national question in Western Europe, pointed out that clashes between the imperialist countries might give rise to a situation in which the question of national wars and the defence of national freedoms would again be put on the agenda.

This kind of situation developed, let us recall, during the Second World War when Hitlerite aggression brought national disaster to many European capitalist states, and in a number of cases a threat to their very existence arose. The war against fascism was a great national liberation war of the peoples in which the defence of national interests was organically intertwined with the struggle for democracy and social progress.

Characteristically enough, it was the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, built on the principles of proletarian internationalism, that played the decisive part in delivering the peoples of Europe from German nazism, defeating Japanese militarism, and in creating the essential prerequisites for restoring the nationally independent states in the European continent and for liberating, nationally and socially, the peoples of Eastern Europe, China and some other Asian countries.

In the postwar period the peoples of Western Europe, Japan and a number of other capitalist countries have run up against a new threat to their national independence — this time on the part of American imperialism which has set out to create its own global empire and assumed the function of a world policeman.

If these intentions, despite all the exertions of the US ruling circles, could not be turned into reality, if its claims to world supremacy and complete control over all other states could not be realised, the major role in this respect has been played by the persistent, unremitting struggle. Naturally, it cannot be said that it is already finished. Moreover, in recent years, the question of defending national interests is also arising in another aspect as well. We refer to rebuffing the attempts of gigantic international monopoly complexes, headed, as a rule, by American capital, to destroy the national sovereignty of other capitalist countries.

No one can disregard the danger to peoples of Western Europe coming from the plans of setting up, on the basis of the Common Market, a supranational political union where the tycoons of monopoly capital would rule the roost.

The national question within capitalist countries is being particularly aggravated owing to the increasing uneven economic development of different regions. Quite often the 'preserves of backwardness' are the regions inhabited by national minorities. It also happens that the protracted unequal position of or discrimination against a national



group which lived formerly in backward areas of a country, today, in conditions of accelerated economic development, is arousing particularly sharp protest. This is the case, for instance, with the Flemings in Belgium and Catalonians in Spain.

Thus, state-monopoly capitalism far from ensuring a solution of the earlier emergent national problems, on the contrary, exacerbates them or gives rise to new ones.

The national problem in its diverse aspects holds a prominent place in the Communist Party programmes of struggle against the monopolies and for fundamental democratic changes of society.

### **BLACK LIBERATION**

Let us recall that energetic support for the Negro liberation movement is one of the major trends in the activity of the Communist Party of the United States.

The biggest and richest capitalist country in the capitalist world is unable to cope with the problem of ensuring economic and political equality to its 25 million black citizens. Brutal exploitation, humiliating discrimination, on the one hand, and the growing influence of progressive democratic ideas, on the other, have resulted in that the seeds of wrath among the Negro people have yielded their harvest. The revolts in the ghettos of big US industrial cities in 1967–1969 and other mass actions by the American Negroes have spiked the myth about their submissiveness, their readiness to reconcile themselves to their lot.

Exposing the crimes of American capitalism against the Negro people, their foremost representatives point to the example of the Soviet Union, the great land of socialism, which has ensured the free development and progress to all the nations and nationalities inhabiting it.

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the USA, held last February, put forward the tasks of linking up the struggle of the Negroes with all the other forms of the liberation struggle and to conduct it within the general movement for the unity of all the peoples, of all the sectors of the working class against their common enemy, the monopolies. The Communist Party of the USA regards the liberation struggle of the Negro people also in close connection with the struggle against the oppression of Americans of Mexican origin, Puerto-Ricans, Indians and other national minorities.

The Communist Party of Canada ever since its foundation has been waging a struggle for the national rights of French Canadians. It has been advocating the adoption of a constitution which would admit the existence of two nations in Canada, each of which has the right to self-determination, to political sovereignty. At the same time the Canadian Communists are opposed to separatism which weakens the positions of the working class and the democratic circles in both parts of Canada and diverts them from the struggle for basic social changes.

The Irish and British Communists are fighting shoulder to shoulder against the aggressive policy of British imperialism in Northern Ireland. In their joint statement published last April the Communist Parties of Ireland and Great Britain resolutely called for consolidating the unity of the working class in the two islands in order to frustrate the Tory plans. The communists of Great Britain and Ireland regard the struggle for the satisfaction of the democratic demands of the working people of Northern Ireland as a prerequisite for resolving the crisis on the basis of the right of the Irish people themselves to decide the destiny of their country.

In Belgium where the problem of relations between the Flemings and Walloons is acute, the Communists advocate a federal structure for the country, considering that it would unravel the knot of national contradictions and secure the harmonious development of all the regions of Belgium. The Communists link the struggle for the establishment of democratic federal institutions with the task of uniting the Left forces.

Against the background of capitalist integration the struggle to meet the interests of immigrant workers is taking an ever more important place in the activity of the Communist Parties of West European countries. The scale of employment of foreign workers is greatly extending. At present 10 million immigrants are working in Western Europe, mainly from Italy, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Greece, North Africa and other regions of the world. In their overwhelming majority they are engaged in arduous, low-paid labour; they, as a rule, do not enjoy political and social rights on a par with workers of the indigenous population. Their position shows strikingly that under capitalism the internationalisation of economic life bears an exploitative, anti-labour character.

Upholding the general interests of the working class of their countries the Communist Parties and the progressive trade unions are drawing



foreign workers into the anti-monopoly struggle, are consistently opposing the policy of the bourgeoisie designed to split the workers' ranks, opposing all forms of discrimination against foreign workers, both economic and political, and are demanding that they be given equal rights.

A case in point is the joint statement 'For a New Immigration Policy' issued by the two biggest trade union centres of France, the General Confederation of Labour and the French Democratic Confederation of Labour, in January 1972. 'Immigrant workers', it is pointed out in the document, 'are a component part of the working class, and not its competitors.'

Both in the developed capitalist countries and in the zone of the national liberation movement the Communist Parties closely associate the defence of national interests with the struggle against economic and social oppression of the working people and resolutely uphold proletarian internationalism.

### **III THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE TODAY**

Comrades, the experience of the Soviet Union has conclusively demonstrated that the victory of the socialist revolution and the solution of the national question on this basis would have been impossible without a consistent, implacable struggle against the ideology of bourgeois nationalism, against petty bourgeois distortions of the principle of proletarian internationalism.

Lenin, elaborating the programme of our Party on the national question, strongly opposed the 'left' doctrinaires, proved the untenability of attempts to interpret internationalism as a negation of national interests and demonstrated that it is impermissible to ignore these interests. At the same time Lenin, our Party have always strongly fought against those who proceeded from the priority of the national factor over the class factor, reduced internationalism to formal recognition of the equality of nations and ignored its supreme principle — the solidarity of workingmen of different nationalities.

Lenin was an ardent unbending fighter against all shades of nationalism in the working-class movement. He waged against it an uncompromising struggle both in Russia and on an international scale. It was

during the hard years of the First World War and the chauvinistic degeneration of the Second International that he raised high the banner of internationalism.

Lenin more than once pointed to the especial force and tenacity of nationalistic prejudices. He served warning that as socialism triumphed in ever new countries the problem of struggle against nationalism would acquire still greater importance for the destinies of the revolutionary movement.

These Leninist propositions have been fully borne out in life. The Communists were guided by them, fighting for the victory of socialism in the People's Democracies. In this context I would like to quote the words of the true Leninist Georgi Dimitrov, whose 90th birth anniversary we have observed recently. 'Nationalism', Dimitrov stressed, 'is incompatible with people's democracy because it is an instrument of capitalism, of capitalist reaction. Our Party sees in internationalism and international cooperation a guarantee of our country's independent existence, prosperity and advance towards socialism. We hold that nationalism, whatever its disguise, is an enemy of communism. That is why struggle against nationalism is the paramount duty of Communists of every Communist (G. Dimitrov, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1957, pp. 631-632).

Lenin's warnings are especially important and timely today when factors stimulating the livening up of nationalistic tendencies actively operate.

The struggle against nationalism is all the more important because it bears directly on a burning issue of our time, the problem of war and peace. The conversion of nationalism and chauvinism into state policy is always fraught with a threat to peace.

It will be recalled that the imperialist bourgeoisie of different countries, preparing the First and Second World Wars, fanned nationalism in every way, advocated the superiority of 'its own nation' and set peoples against each other. German fascism carried this policy to the utmost limit. Today, too, imperialism and also reactionary bourgeois landowners in newly-free countries exploit nationalism for ends hostile to peace and the security of nations.

In these conditions, the greatest responsibility devolves upon the socialist countries, upon the Communist Parties. It is they that in the first place are called upon to perform the mission of preventing a war



capable of placing civilisation on the brink of the greatest catastrophe. It is their activity that opens up the prospect of delivering mankind from national strife and establishing friendship among all nations.

The victory of the working class in the USSR, in the countries of the socialist community has struck a crushing blow to nationalism. The prophetic words of the *Communist Manifesto* that 'in proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end' (K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 1, p. 125) have been translated into reality.

But the leaders of the Communist Party of China have come out against this objective tendency which is supported and developed in every way by the fraternal Parties of socialist countries. The line of the CPC leaders has shown that they have not withstood the test of loyalty to proletarian internationalism, the test to which history subjects the ruling Communist Parties. This has led the CPC to actual break with the communist movement, to the exacerbation of relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and to military threats against the USSR.

A natural question arises: what is the cause of this phenomenon which runs counter to the nature of socialism?

It is common knowledge that in capitalist society the sources of chauvinistic policy and ideology, the sources of wars and national conflicts, are rooted in the social nature of this system. It is a historic advantage of socialism that its intrinsic social relations lead to the abolition of national oppression and nationalism, to fraternal relations among peoples. The overthrow of the capitalist system ensures every possibility for a radical turn in the national question and for a full elimination of nationalism. But, as pointed out in the Document of the 1969 Meeting, this does not come of itself, is not achieved automatically.

*How* these prerequisites are utilised, *how* these possibilities are realised in one or another country — this depends above all on the subjective factor, i.e., the policy of a Communist Party providing guidance to society.

The experience of history has shown that a consistent Marxist-Leninist policy of Communist Parties, education of the working people in the spirit of internationalism and determined struggle against nationalism and chauvinism are needed to consolidate fraternal

relations between peoples, between socialist countries.

Otherwise, as demonstrated by China, a resurgence and strengthening of nationalism and even the counterposing of a country to the socialist community are possible. Moreover, the facts show that the instruments and possibilities created by the revolutionary struggle, by economic and social changes along the lines of socialism, are utilised where for nationalistic purposes. Being geared to chauvinism, and hegemonistic aims, they may create a situation which would not only inflict serious harm on the unity of the socialist countries and all the revolutionary forces, but would also be fraught with the war danger.

The anti-Leninist line of the CPC leadership is 'serviced' by a whole string of unscientific 'doctrines' which fundamentally distort the real processes of our time. One of the latest propaganda inventions in this vein is the theory, save the mark, of 'struggle by small and middle countries against the two superpowers'. The entire system of Peking's guidelines on the national question serves above all the aims of 'justifying' its anti-Soviet policy. Ultimately this is also the purpose of the policy of assimilating the national minorities in China, policy, covered up by arguments about the obsolescence of the concept 'nation', which is proclaimed a capitalist category.

All this compels us to emphasise once again: socialism is incompatible with a departure from proletarian internationalism, with nationalism and chauvinism. This harms the people of the given country as well. That is why the renunciation of proletarian internationalism by China's leaders also threatens the socialist gains of the Chinese people themselves.

A proper solution of the national question and the establishment of national relations on the principles of proletarian internationalism both within the countries building socialism and also in relations between them, create firm, effective guarantees against friction and conflicts, to say nothing of clashes. And, on the contrary, chauvinistic and nationalistic positions in ideology and politics may bring about the most adverse consequences in relations between nations. That is why the struggle against such manifestations is an important, indispensable condition for fresh successes of world socialism.

The ideology and policy of nationalism must not be confused with the growth of the national consciousness of the masses, which is a natural and progressive process. Nor must the nationalism of an oppres-



sing nation be confused with the nationalism of an oppressed nation which, as is known, also contains elements of a progressive, anti-imperialist trend. It is important, lastly, to see the distinctive features of nationalism contingent on the interests of what social stratum it expresses — the big or petty bourgeoisie, reactionary feudal circles and so on.

While taking into account all these intricate moments, we must not, however, lose sight of the main thing — that the ideology of nationalism cannot serve the vital interests of the working class and the working people in general. Even in the nationalism of oppressed nations, alongside positive features, there are features, whose growth leads to the befuddling of the minds of the masses, to the rise of tendencies which hamper the achievement of progressive and especially revolutionary aims.

It is common knowledge that anti-communism, anti-Sovietism is the chief ideological weapon of imperialism, the class enemy of the present day revolutionary forces. Nationalism is also an ideological weapon used on a wide scale by imperialist propagandists, reactionaries in the developing countries, and Right and 'Left' revisionists.

In what directions do anti-Sovietists concentrate their efforts in their ideological weapon used on a wide scale by imperialist propagandists, reactionaries in the developing countries, and their ideological subversion against our Party in the national question?

First of all they seek to find 'fissures' and 'divergences' between different nations in the Soviet Union, attempt to set them at loggerheads. to foment, on this basis, anti-Soviet sentiments and thus engender nationalistic and even separatist tendencies. This is one of the main trends in the subversive activity of such agencies of imperialist propaganda and misinformation as the 'Liberty' and 'Free Europe' radio stations which have the services of renegades, traitors to their countries, all kinds of emigre grouplets. The struggle of our Party against nationalistic prejudices is slanderously presented by anti-Sovietists as a line of 'liquidating' national distinctions.

Anti-Sovietism seeks to distort the nationalities policy of our Party in its foreign policy aspects too. Hackneyed arguments about 'Soviet imperialism' are inter-twined with revisionist points that the USSR allegedly proceeds from the 'priority of its national interests', sacrificing to them the interests of the international revolutionary movement. The

provocative campaign over the mythical concept of 'restricted sovereignty', fabricated by our enemies, has been a kind of common denominator of imperialist and revisionist anti-Sovietism.

The experience of the revolutionary struggle in recent years has again and again demonstrated the truth that the attacks of anti-Sovietism on the policy of our Party, often launched under the flag of 'concern' for social progress and national independence, are actually spearheaded against all the detachments of the world revolutionary movement, are designed to undermine the main bulwark of the liberation forces — the world socialist community.

Anti-Sovietism is inflicting serious harm on the international working-class and national liberation movements. He who falls for the bait of anti-Sovietism, becomes irrespective of his subjective intentions, an accomplice of the enemies of the working class, of all the progressive forces.

Comrades, the imperialist bourgeoisie is now widely employing the refined, veiled forms of nationalistic ideology. This, of course, does not mean that it no longer utilises such an extreme form of chauvinism as racialism. It remains a weapon, as attested by the support of the racist regimes in Africa, the persecution of Negroes and Indians in the United States, anti-semitism, as hitherto cultivated in Western capitalist countries, and of late particularity zionism.

Attempts are being made to clothe imperialist policy in more 'decent garb'. Speculating on the exacerbation of the national question in different regions of the world, the ideologists of imperialism are dying special emphasis on the 'omnipotent' virus of nationalism which supposedly fatally afflicts all countries irrespective of their social system. Moreover, the national question is placed outside social contradictions and the concrete historical conditions of the epoch. Relations between nations are reduced to a spontaneous clash of certain forces rooted in the mentality of peoples in which aggressive aspirations supposedly are intrinsic. And from this it follows that national hostility is allegedly some kind of a 'natural norm' of international relations.

The socio-political 'orientation' of these views is not only to absolve capitalism of historical responsibility for the evils and crimes of colonialism. Bourgeois ideologists seek to bring home to masses the idea that the social and political struggle under way in the world today actually represents a clash of different nationalistic forces. On the one



hand, this tendency of imperialist ideology is designed to stimulate national-opportunism in the international communist and working-class movement and, on the other, to arouse sentiments of hopelessness and pessimism, disbelief in the ability of socialism to eliminate national hostility.

It is no secret that many current 'concepts' of anti-communist propaganda have been borrowed from the 'creative laboratory' of Right and 'Left' revisionism.

The bourgeoisie is widely and artfully utilising the special manifestations of revisionism and nationalism in the working-class movement in order to draw the ideologically unstable into the morass of anti-Sovietism, to impel them to betray the cause of socialism. We have been reminded about this once again by the history of renagacy of people like Garaudy, Fischer and Petkoff.

The 'national communism' doctrine, put forward by the revisionists, was at once taken up by the ideological centres of the monopoly bourgeoisie. S. Lipset, an American reactionary sociologist, in his book *Revolution and Counterrevolution* hopes that the Communist Parties, accepting this doctrine, will follow a path of such adaptation to specific national conditions as had been done by Social Democrats half a century ago or even earlier. The objective of the anti-communists is clear. The Second International did yield its positions to social chauvinism and this was the main reason for its bankruptcy. 'National communism' is now placed at the door of the communist movement to achieve the same results. But this will never come to pass! An earnest of this is Leninism which was, and remains, the immutable ideological foundation of the international communist movement.

At the same time we must not forget that a definite part of the imperialist ideologists and the opportunists, also acting hand in glove, pose as enemies of nationalism. These are apologists of so-called 'supra-national associations', of modern cosmopolitanism. They assert that in the age of the scientific and technological revolution, which is 'making the world smaller', national sovereignty and national independence are supposedly becoming attributes of the past, are 'hindering' economic integration, economic and social progress. A 'trans-national company', the latest development in the concentration of monopoly capital — is presented as a force which dooms the national state, as a 'salvation' from nationalism.

It is hardly necessary to prove that we are dealing here with some variety of the expansionist ideology of finance capital. But it is important to note that in this case, too, the imperialist ideologists possess a 'finished' theoretical product supplied by opportunism. We are referring to the concept of national nihilism, regarded as 'consistent internationalism', the concept developed by Trotskyites and other 'Left' opportunists. P. Frank, one of the leaders of theoreticians of contemporary Trotskyism, declared that 'the question of national independence does not comprise an essential part of the theory of permanent revolution.' Trotskyites and other people of like mind look down upon the nation as an 'obsolete community'. equate any manifestation of patriotism to bourgeois nationalism and replace proletarian internationalism by the sectarian doctrine of the 'planetary consolidation' of the working class.

It is clear to Marxists-Leninists that the struggle against all brands and manifestations of nationalism and imperialist cosmopolitanism can be developed with success only through the further, all-round strengthening of proletarian internationalism as one of the key principles of all their ideological and political activity. In our days the attitude to real socialism is a criterion of proletarian internationalism.

The principles of independence, equality and sovereignty of the fraternal parties which struck root in the communist movement are in accord with the diverse conditions and experience of struggle by the Parties, their role as vanguard of all the revolutionary and democratic forces of their nations, their countries. At the same time this role may be performed only given unshakeable fidelity to proletarian internationalism. 'The national and international responsibilities of each Communist and Workers' Party are indivisible', it was pointed out in the Document of the 1969 Meeting. 'Marxists — Leninists are both patriots and internationalists, they reject both narrow-mindedness and the negation or under estimation of national interests, and the striving for hegemony.'

The experience of the entire world liberation movement has demonstrated beyond doubt that any distortion of the inter-connection and genuine correlation of the national and international factors leads to a divorce from the masses, to a loss of the revolutionary perspective.

In this connection we would like to emphasise that the proceedings of the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969, its ideas and conclusions have seriously helped to strengthen the internationalist



principle in the entire activity of the international communist movement. The interests of our movement, of all the revolutionary forces, dictate the further spread of the joint struggle by the Communists which is now placing its main stake of nationalism, against Right and 'Left' revisionism whose spearhead is likewise nationalism.

## **TWO WAYS ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION**

History itself has summed up the results of the two ways of solving the national question: the Leninist, socialist way and the capitalist way.

In a bourgeois state based on private property, the exploitation of man by man is supplemented by national oppression and inequality. In these conditions national relations assume the form of domination and subordination. The capitalist way of 'solving' the national question is the way of national hostility, the exacerbation of national discord and its use for provoking military clashes.

Bourgeois democracy, which proclaims national equality in society but practically is incapable of achieving genuine national equality, undergoes crisis with unprecedented acuteness and clarity in conditions under monopoly capitalism. In its extreme forms this crisis was expressed in the racist, misanthropic 'theory' and practice of fascism which made a monstrous attempt to 'solve' the national question by enslaving and physically exterminating entire peoples. But even in its 'ordinary' forms the capitalist way of solving the national question brings immeasurable suffering to the peoples because it cultivates racialism, the oppression of national minorities, imperialist hegemonism and military conflicts.

Bourgeois society has proved completely bankrupt in organising the co-operation and mutual assistance of peoples. Lenin's conclusion that 'it is impossible to abolish national (or any other political) oppression under capitalism' (Collected Works, Vol. 22, p. 325) has been fully confirmed.

Socialism has realised the only way of solving the national question. This is the way of abolishing human exploitation and radically reconstructing the entire socio-economic, ideological and cultural life of society. The experience of socialist countries has irrefutably proved the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the abolition of national oppression and the establishment of equality and fraternal friendship between peoples is a general law, it is an organic component

of building the new society. At the same time the experience also conclusively shows that in the present epoch the only way to a genuine flowering of nations lies through imparting to the national consciousness, the international and, ultimately, socialist content. Unless this is done any progressive national phenomenon can degenerate in a reactionary way, a nation is doomed to stagnation and its progress runs into a blind alley:

Comrades, now that the Soviet Union is drawing near to its 50th anniversary, the outstanding international significance of the experience accumulated stands out in bold relief.

The experience of the USSR teaches us that peoples of different races are capable of making history, of developing their own economy and culture with success.

The experience of the USSR shows that socialism, the community of political and ideological aspirations, the consistent implementation of the policy of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism create such a strong union of peoples which is capable of withstanding the hardest trials.

The experience of the USSR demonstrates that peoples liberated from national and social oppression rise up to build a new life. Their economies are flourishing due to the relations of equality and fraternal mutual assistance of nations. The fruitful mutual enrichment with spiritual treasures promotes the progress of their common culture in which everything finest in the national cultures of the various peoples shines in a bright constellation.

The experience of the USSR highlights the great importance of an attentive consideration for all nations, big and small, or irreconcilability to national nihilism and bourgeois nationalism.

The experience of the USSR shows how important it is to find a form of state structure which guarantees the possibility of a truly equal, democratic participation of all nations and nationalities in state agencies, from top to bottom, in accomplishing common tasks.

The historic achievements of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community in solving the national question have signified a radical turn towards shaping communist relations among peoples and exerted a profound influence on the destinies of mankind.

In analysing the main forms of the positive development of national relations in the present epoch — the formation and strengthening of the



USSR, the emergence of the world socialist community, the creation of independent national states in countries which were formerly under the colonial yoke — and in examining these processes in their totality, we are entitled to conclude: socialism, slanderously accused by the foes of progress of ignoring national interests, has played a truly historic role in the winning of national independence and in the securing of national statehood for the overwhelming part of the world population.

Since ancient times the finest minds of mankind have dreamed of fraternity, of the community of peoples. The successes of socialism and national-democratic revolutions have brought mankind near to achieving this ideal. Only short-sighted people can see in the emergence of dozens of new states a sweep of nationalistic forces. The path to the true fraternity of all peoples is now known — it runs through the struggle for the freedom and independence of all the peoples, against the policy of imperialist violence and any nationalistic deviations.

The dialectic of historical development is such that mankind will arrive at communism through the flowering of nations on the basis of full trust and mutual respect among the peoples of the world, as a result of the introduction of the ideas and principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism in national relations on a world scale. The all-round development of nations and national cultures in socialist countries on the basis of their gradual and close drawing together is preparing step by step the coming worldwide victory of socialism and communism.

# **THE STRUGGLE IN AFRICA & ASIA: a new phase**

## **An Important Conference in Prague**

With the achievement of independence at some point since the end of World War II, the great majority of African and Asian countries have entered into a new phase — the struggle to overcome socio-economic backwardness, against neo-colonialist dependence, and for social progress and the development of an independent national economy. The social content of the national liberation movement has deepened appreciably, bringing with it a re-alignment of class forces, and sharper conflict between anti-national and exploiting elements on the one hand, and the mass of the people on the other.

In some countries, with populations totalling about 100 million people, revolutionary democratic forces principally of a petit-bourgeois character have taken power. These countries are taking the non-capitalist path, and their regimes are oriented towards socialism. The latter often display highly contradictory tendencies, combining anti-imperialist policies and friendship with the socialist countries with anti-Communist repression domestically, as in Algeria and the Arab Republic of Egypt (ARE). Yet for such regimes to develop a consistently principled anti-imperialist position, especially in relation to the immense power and ruthless intriguing of the huge multi-national corporations and the imperialist governments which back them, they need the active and equal co-operation of the most consistently revolutionary class of today, the working class, led by its vanguard, the Communist Party. Thus it was that in order to carry through to success their fight to the death



against the monopolist giant, the Iraq Petroleum Company, the progressive but hitherto anti-Communist ruling Baath Socialist Parties of Iraq and Syria were compelled to enter into coalition with the respective Communist Parties of their countries, and with other patriotic parties.

The dangers of suppressing the independent political activity of the working class are evident from the experience of Egypt, where the Communist Party was forced to dissolve in 1964. Elements of the petit bourgeoisie, with the advantage of a monopoly of state power, having crushed the old landlords and big bourgeoisie, are busy turning themselves into a middle bourgeoisie which has called to a halt the progressive development of the country along the non-capitalist path, and embarked upon a suicidal anti-Sovietism and flirtation with US imperialism in its foreign policy.

The immense variety of social, economic and political conditions to be found in the context of the new stage of the national liberation movement make theoretical generalisation difficult. Compare, for example, Somalia, with virtually no working class and a largely semi-nomadic peasantry in a sparsely populated country with hardly any factory production and undeveloped market relations, with say India, with its hundreds of millions of landless peasants, its substantial working class, big bourgeoisie and indigenous monopolists. The past 3 years have witnessed sterling efforts by the progressive military leadership in the former to guide their country forward according to the principles of scientific socialism, while in the latter the twenty-year-old post-independence hegemony of the national bourgeoisie in the political life of India has started to break up, and a broader, more popular coalition of democratic forces has emerged to wrestle with the imperialists' and bourgeoisie's capitalist-oriented manoeuvres. It is evident from just these two examples that while national democratic revolution is on the order of the day in both these vastly different countries, there are wide divergencies in its social content, its motive forces and the resulting configuration of the anti-imperialist and progressive front in each case.

Different again are the capitalist-oriented countries beset by neo-colonialism and domestic reaction, ranging from the likes of Senegal and the Ivory Coast to the Philippines and Indonesia in the Far East. Do these have anything in common besides their colonial past with those countries like Rhodesia and South Africa still suffering under

the jackboot of colonialist and racist repression? And can we view as intermediate between the latter and the non-capitalist states those countries where the main task of ejecting the colonialists merges with the tasks of building up a national-democratic state (as in so-called Portuguese Africa)?

This complex panorama with its exciting new possibilities for revolutionary change provided the backdrop for a theoretical conference held in Prague from 27th to 29th June 1971 under the auspices of the journal of the international Communist movement *Problems of Peace and Socialism* (better known in the English-speaking world as *World Marxist Review*.) Under the title New Stage in the Afro-Asian National Liberation Movement and Problems of Unity of Anti-Imperialist Forces, the Conference (to quote the words of its final communique) 'examined such questions as the motive forces of the national democratic revolution in the present conditions, the distinguishing features of its development in different countries, and especially in countries with progressive regimes, the social and state structures in the Asian and African countries the united front of anti-imperialist and progressive forces, and also problems related to the intrigues of imperialism, colonialism and internal reaction, which are trying to use anti-communism and anti-Sovietism in their struggle against social progress and peace.'

### **PARTIES AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS**

The conference was attended by representatives of 27 African and Asian Communist Parties, representatives of some of the Communist Parties of other capitalist countries in Europe and the Americas, party representatives and experts from the socialist countries, and in addition, providing a welcome and novel dimension, representatives of liberation movements and revolutionary democratic parties, namely MPLA (Angola), SWAPO (Namibia), the Arab Socialist Union (ARE), the Arab Socialist Baath Parties of Iraq and Syria, the Democratic party of Kurdistan (Iraq), and also a member of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of Somalia. Not only was this the first conference organised by the journal dealing specifically with issues of the national liberation movement since the Cairo Seminar of 1966, but it was also the first at which Communists and revolutionary democrats came together to



discuss common theoretical problems. The ensuing discussions were marked thoroughly by a broad, creative and highly serious sense of purpose. Contributions summarising and generalising the experience of many countries endowed the conference with a wealth of rich materials which, it is hoped, will eventually be published in a book form. In the meantime, the *World Marxist Review* has published in a recent number a summary of the proceedings, and some papers of particular interest to readers of *The African Communist* may become available to this journal later this year.

While it is impossible in a short space to do more than list the major themes of the conference, one may single out for mention the attention that was devoted to the analysis of the intermediate strata in African and Asian countries, especially the middle bourgeoisie, both urban and rural. Different points of view were expressed about the middle bourgeoisie. On one hand, it is opposed to big capital and to foreign domination; on the other hand it is opposed to the working class, and identifies with the peasantry. It is an exploiting class, which cannot challenge private property in principle, yet in its resistance to imperialist domination it needs the support of the working people and to develop the economy it is forced to extend the state sector at the expense of private property. Where it has seized state power and taken some reactionary measures, the duality of its class role may be less apparent than that of the revolutionary democratic petit bourgeoisie in power.

As with some motive forces of the new stage of the national democratic revolution, so also with concrete measures of a generally progressive character, such as nationalisation and promotion of co-operatives in agriculture: they may become instruments for accelerating the differentiation of classes, for assisting the rise of exploiting classes. Everything depends on the performance of the ruling classes, their intentions, consistency, attitude towards the socialist countries, and openness to the influence of scientific socialism.

There is no doubt, however, that tremendous possibilities face the peoples of Africa and Asia today, for developing their national resources, improving their conditions of life, avoiding the development of social relations of an exploitative kind, and of moving steadily towards socialism. A basic condition for the realisation of these possibilities is a firm alliance with the socialist countries which alone offer a strong and friendly alternative pole of attachment to the snares and delusions of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

A.B.

# BOOK REVIEWS

## WHAT HAPPENED IN LESOTHO

*Lesotho 1970: An African Coup Under the Microscope* by B.M. Khaketla. C. Hurst and Co. £3.50.

The first post-independence election in Lesotho took place on 27 January 1970. What its outcome was, nobody knows – officially. As the results came in and were announced over Radio Lesotho, it was clear that it was a neck-and-neck struggle between the ruling Basutoland National Party led by the Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, and the main opposition party, the Basutoland Congress Party, led by Mr Ntsu Mokhehle. Now the one party was ahead, now the other, with the remaining three parties and independents nowhere. But there was never more than one seat's difference between the two big parties, a victory for one being quickly balanced by a victory for the other. This continued until the results stood at 23:23. That was on January 29, after which no further election results were announced over the radio or anywhere else.

In this book, Mr Khaketla, leader of the Marematlou Freedom Party and a man who has played a leading part in Lesotho politics since the 1950's, explains what happened.



It had become clear that the B.C.P. had won the election, for the results at that time, including those which had come in after the blackout, were B.C.P., 35; B.N.P., 23; and M.F.P., 1. The result for the sixtieth constituency had not come in, because there had been no counting: more than 500 voters in one village had been made to vote with discs and envelopes which did not bear the official election seal. The election in that constituency therefore aborted.

Mr Khaketla's account squares with reports which appeared in the South African press at the time and there is no reason to question its accuracy. Doubts about the election result could have been dissipated at any time by an official statement, but no such statement was ever made.

Mr Khaketla asserts that Chief Jonathan, faced with his overwhelming defeat at the polls, was at first prepared to hand over power to Mr Mokhehle, leader of the victorious BCP. It is even said that Jonathan's South African political and legal advisers had recommended that he surrender power peacefully; possibly they did not want to see Lesotho racked by civil strife which might spread across its borders into the Republic itself.

At all events, at about 10 a.m. on the morning of 30 January, the day on which Jonathan had proposed to tender his resignation to the King, he summoned a meeting of his Cabinet, to which were also invited the Commissioner of Police J.H. Hindmarsh and the Officer Commanding the Police Mobile Unit, Fred Roach. Chief Leabua told them of his intention to resign, but found himself opposed by the rest of his Cabinet, who alleged Mokhehle was a Communist, that he had rigged the elections, and that they would rather die than hand over the government to him. The two White police officers, both Britons, supported the majority standpoint. At 3 p.m. that same day Chief Leabua Jonathan announced to the nation in a radio broadcast that he had suspended the constitution and declared a state of emergency.

This drastic step has been taken in order to protect not only the liberty of the individual but also law and order . . . An atmosphere of fear and threats of violence was spread throughout the country on the eve of the election. On election day the election was marred by actual acts of violence all over the country.

Jonathan's claim, made on 30 January, was a direct contradiction of his own broadcasts to the nation in the two days immediately after the elections, January 28 and 29, when he had expressed his gratitude at the way the elections had been conducted 'in an atmosphere of peace

and quiet throughout the country'. Everything had surpassed his fondest hopes. He was extremely happy, he said.

Mr Khaketla comments at this point: 'And all of those of us who had been involved in the election — either as election candidates or as agents of candidates — whole-heartedly endorsed his statement, for the spirit among various supporters of the parties had been very good indeed'.

Chief Leabua Jonathan did, some while later, appoint a one-man commission to investigate the alleged election malpractices of the B.C.P., but the commission never issued a report, and so there are no documented charges of evidence available which might justify his seizure of power by force.

On the other hand, what is made abundantly clear by the mass of evidence in Mr Khaketla's book is that it was Leabua Jonathan's declaration of a state of emergency which plunged Lesotho into anarchy and civil war. The opposition parties and press were banned, their leaders arrested or placed under house arrest, the King isolated and eventually sent into exile. Gangs of the Basutoland National Party Youth League, organised and trained on the Malawi model, rampaged throughout the countryside, beating up and on occasion killing Basutoland Congress Party supporters and burning down their houses. Mr. Khaketla soberly recounts details of the bestial atrocities perpetrated on some of Leabua's opponents, giving the names and circumstances of the victim — the Mafeteng business man who was ordered to have intercourse with his daughter and then, when he refused, forced to watch her being raped by one of the B.N.P. Youth Leaguers; the men whose hair and beards were torn out or set on fire; the men who had wire twisted round their testicles; the man who was impaled on a stick pushed up his anus; the man who was doused with petrol and set alight.

When the people in the villages banded together to defend themselves against these assaults, the Youth League called in the assistance of the Police Mobile Unit, which crushed all opposition with the utmost severity, not stopping short even at aerial bombing on occasion.

'The soldiers behaved like beasts of the jungle', says Mr Khaketla. 'I believe there is hardly a crime in the moral code . . . which they did not



believe there is hardly a crime in the moral code . . . which they did not commit with complete abandon. And be it remembered that this was done with one aim in view: to protect, preserve and popularise our 'Christian heritage'. All these atrocities have left a legacy of bitterness which will take generations to eradicate'.

There will be those who dismiss the events in Lesotho as just another example of African barbarism and the instability of African states. It is, of course, nothing of the sort. It is another example of the crimes committed by reactionary forces in the name of anti-Communism, the destruction of democratic rights by those who claim to be defending democracy from the Communist onslaught. Not that Ntsu Mokhehle can be described as a Communist. Far from it. Mr Khaketla, who worked with him for years and knows him well, not hesitating to reveal his shortcomings as well as his gifts of leadership, describes him as a socialist of the same type as Harold Wilson or Willy Brandt. We in South Africa who have had contact with Mr Mokhehle can also testify that he was always opposed to the South African Communist Party, and even more strongly to the Communist Party of Lesotho which had only one candidate standing in the 1970 election.

Yet all the forces of reaction combined to prevent a Mokhehle take-over in Lesotho, from the time that he first emerged in politics in the 1950's right down to the present day. Mr Khaketla shows how Britain West Germany and South Africa, together with the powerful Catholic Church inside Lesotho, worked for a Leabua victory in the 1965 pre-independence election — an election won by the Basutoland National Party by the narrow majority of two seats, though Leabua himself was defeated and was only able to take office after a by-election. The same combination of reactionary forces worked for a B.N.P. victory again in 1970, and bolstered Jonathan up after his coup d'etat.

Commenting on the coup, South African Premier Vorster said: 'We are carrying on as though nothing has happened . . . It had been shown time and time again that Mr Mokhehle was a Peking Communist'. And it has been substantial financial aid from Britain and the United States which has so far made it unnecessary for Jonathan to seek an accommodation with Mokhehle to bring about the resumption of normal demo-

cratic rule, the restoration of the constitution and the holding of fresh elections.

The importance of Mr Khaketla's book is that he documents the whole story from the inside. It is all down in black and white — Leabua's political opportunism, his reliance on South African officials in the police force and the administration, the rolls, the purge of the civil service and the refusal of government jobs to anybody lacking a B.N.P. membership card etc., etc.

Sadly, what also emerges clearly from Mr Khaketla's account is that it could all have been avoided. How is it possible, one asks, that the B.C.P., which swept the district council elections in 1960, which won a majority of votes even in the 1965 elections, and which clearly won the 1970 elections, has consistently failed to achieve office? The answer lies in Mokhehle's overweening personal ambition, his over-confidence, which led him to quarrel with and drive out of the B.C.P. anybody who might challenge his leadership; his refusal at any time to consider a united front of all the progressive forces in Lesotho to ensure the defeat of the forces of reaction, South African imperialism and neo-colonialism. Underestimating the capacity of his enemies, Mr Mokhehle thought he could do it all himself. Perhaps, too, there was a naive belief that everybody would play the democratic game according to the rules, a lack of understanding of the real nature and source of political power.

The appeal of the Communist Party of Lesotho for unity was ignored by Mokhehle and is not even mentioned by Mr Khaketla, who places far more emphasis on the role of King Moshoeshoe II than on the need to organise and mobilise the people of Lesotho. Let us hope the harsh lessons taught by the emergency have been well and truly learnt. It is not the King, the United Nations or a well-disposed British Government which will restore democracy to Lesotho and guarantee its independent development. Only the organised strength of the Lesotho people, in alliance with the progressive and anti-imperialist forces in South Africa and throughout the world, can defeat apartheid and reaction in Southern Africa and open the road to real freedom.

Z. Nkosi



## **S. AFRICA'S REPRESSION A LAWYER'S VIEW**

*Law, Order and Liberty in South Africa* by A.S. Mathews. Juta & Co., Cape Town, 1971. R12.50. Distributed in England by Stevens & Co.

White South Africans have long prided themselves on what they consider to be the impartiality and independence of their judiciary, so something of a stir was created in legal circles when in the mid-sixties a professor of law and a professor of psychology at the University of Natal wrote a lengthy article accusing the judges of leaning unduly in favour of the police in interpreting security laws. In particular they expressed concern at the failure of the courts to scrutinise the powers of the security police in such a way as to reduce the harmful effects of solitary confinement and to minimise the possibilities of torture. Professor Mathews, now Dean of the Law Department at Natal University, has since developed the ideas which he co-authored into a doctoral thesis, which was finally converted into this book.

He begins with a detailed analysis of the concept of the Rule of Law, which will be of interest primarily to lawyers of a philosophical bent. Essentially he sees the concept as embodying the fair administration by independent judicial authorities of clearly defined rules to secure individual freedom, but excludes from the definition the use of law as an instrument for promoting social advancement. The heart of the work is a close analysis of South African security legislation and a detailed discussion of the reported cases on it. One of the incidental consequences of the repression of the last decade has been the appearance of the names of scores of Congress activists and supporters in the pages of the South African Law Reports. Professor Mathews writes about their cases in lawyers' language and with special concern for breaches of traditional legal concepts. The victims might find it strange to note how the pain and anger they experienced has been converted into the cold and stilted vocabulary of the jurist, but there may be some consolation in the knowledge that the book stands as a massive condemnation of the South African legal system in terms of its own proclaimed values.

As a source of reference for security legislation and judicial behaviour in relation to deprivation of rights and torture, this book is unequalled.

It also contains interesting comparisons with what the author refers to as security programmes in the United States and in Northern Ireland.

Professor Mathews recognises that a legal system ultimately be judged in terms of the society in which it operates, and in the final section of the work he argues that the establishment of the Rule of Law in South Africa is essential to the creation of a democratic society. Just as socialists see the unity in action in revolutionary struggle of persons of all backgrounds as the basis for black liberation and the creation of a non-racial democracy, so he argues for the formation of a black elite which would integrate into the white middle class as the growth point of a liberal democracy.

Despite his exposure of the Suppression of Communism Act as being aimed at all serious attempts to bring about radical social change, many of his references to communists and communism will be offensive to most of the victims of the Act. Like many liberals he is reluctant to allow communists to enjoy the liberties which he feels ought to be guaranteed by the Rule of Law, or the alleged grounds that with some exceptions communists use these liberties to try to eliminate the Rule of Law. In practice in South Africa communists have on the whole been far more active and courageous than most liberals in the defence of the freedoms which he espouses, and if he were consistent he would assert that communists not only have the right to a fair trial, but also the right to campaign openly and legally for their beliefs. In spite of the rather conservative political and legal philosophy that runs through his book, it makes a valuable contribution to the documentation of repression in South Africa, and to that extent is to be welcomed.

### **INFORMATIVE BUT UNSCIENTIFIC**

*The International Aspects of the South African Indian Question 1860-1971.* By B. Pachai (C. Struik (Pty) Ltd. Cape Town).

There is a great need for studies on the development of the revolutionary movements in South Africa. Pachai's book attempts to narrow this gap by dealing with the history of the South African Indians concentrating on the international aspects.



Whilst the book has a wealth of information and is extensively researched it suffers from a one-sided mechanical approach to the writing of history. In this review I shall only deal with the main defects of the book.

(1) Although the author shows that we cannot rely on the good-will of the Imperialist powers, he lamentally fails to examine the different roles played by the Imperialist countries and the Socialist world led by the Soviet Union.

(2) Because of his idealistic approach to the writing of history the author fails to bring out the dynamics of the national and class contact of our struggle. He assumes that the effective material factors are static. Consequently the author is unable to see the fundamental connexion between the development of capitalism and the radicalisation of the Indian political organisations. Due to this approach the influence and strength of the Indian working class in radicalising their political and economic organisation is ignored. It is therefore not surprising that Pachai fails to explain and to analyse how and why the radicals and militants assumed control of the Indians political movements in the 1940's. A profound change which led to the Indian Congresses forging close fraternal comradely links with the ANC and the SACP and thereby forming an important part of the Congress Alliance.

(3) A liberal, Pachai pretends to be neutral concerning the fundamental differences between the radical South African Indian Congress which enjoyed mass support and backing and the reactionary merchant class dominated South African Indian Organisation. He claims that it is not possible to show that the Congress was the more powerful. Only a cursory glance at the history of the Indian Congresses in the fifties and the early sixties show clearly that the Indian Congresses under the leadership of Doctors Dadoo and Naicker enjoyed the overwhelming support of the mass of the Indian population. He then goes on to make an even more absurd statement by claiming that the Indian masses are usually ignorant of what goes on (what intellectual arrogance!) and that the majority care "more for economic improvements than for political power" (p.273). The blatantly unscientific content of the above statements surely puts Pachai in the camp of the idealists, and the conservatives.

The active participation of the Indian people (especially the work-

ing class) in the stirring mass struggles of the fifties and sixties clearly demonstrate that the bulk of the Indians were prepared to struggle and sacrifice for the national liberation of the oppressed black peoples of South Africa. Pachai ignores this valuable contribution and it is therefore not surprising that the book was published in South Africa.

The book is only useful for the accumulation of factual information especially relating to the debates on the Indian questions at the United Nations from 1945-1961. But as a study which attempts to explain the contribution of the Indians to the developing struggle for a free and democratic South Africa it is an abject failure.

Furthermore it shows once more the great need for a scientific Marxist-Leninist approach to the writing as the history of our country, especially that concerning the development of our revolutionary movements.

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## **LETTER TO THE EDITOR**

### **Crime in Africa**

The barbarous measures announced in the Central African Republic to 'deal with' theft and other crimes reveal, among other things, a complete misunderstanding. No society can tolerate theft, whether or not accompanied by violence, but merely repressive and punitive measures will never overcome this problem. Unemployment is widespread in all Africa and relief or assistance almost unknown. Large numbers of Africans are left to struggle for their existence, with nowhere to turn for help or advice. People, often with large families to support, turn in desperation to crime and violence.

Wherever private capital exists there is unemployment, and Africa is no exception. It is only where capitalism has been overthrown that unemployment and other forms of social insecurity have been abolished. In the Soviet Union, where private capital has been taken over by society since 1917, there is no major crime problem; socialism is the basis for a humane and harmonious society. And the same is true in developing countries like China and Cuba where unemployment and its social consequences have been abolished since they embarked on the socialist road.

If all Africans were provided with suitable jobs there would be little or no stealing. But it is not possible to do this because private capital is interested in high rates of profit, not social welfare. Even in the

developed capitalist countries, such as Britain, France, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, crime is steadily increasing in extent and violence. How much more should we expect this to happen in the developing countries which are burdened with the cruel legacy of colonialism.

The underlying immorality of capitalist society with its antagonistic class structure and its glorification of the 'get-rich-quick' ideas of individualism inevitably stimulates crime and corruption of all kinds.

Opportunistic and reactionary leaders, together with the colonialists, are to be blamed for the corrupt life of present-day Africa; not the masses who are merely governed and not drawn into political life.

The solution to the robbery problem in the Central African Republic should not be to cut off the ears of convicts, but rather to take progressive steps toward curtailing foreign capitalism and directing all efforts and natural resources to satisfying the needs of the nation.

*Harold Sheaka Kamara*

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